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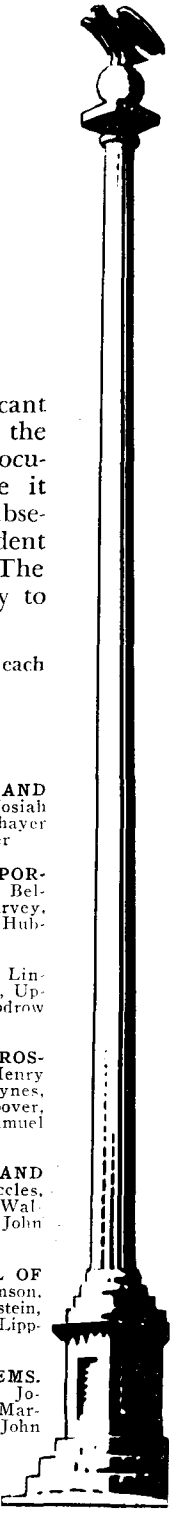
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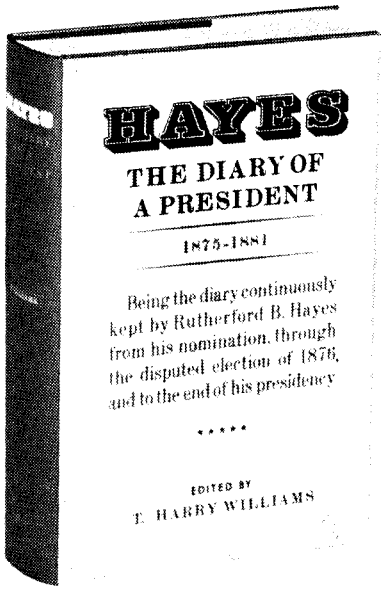
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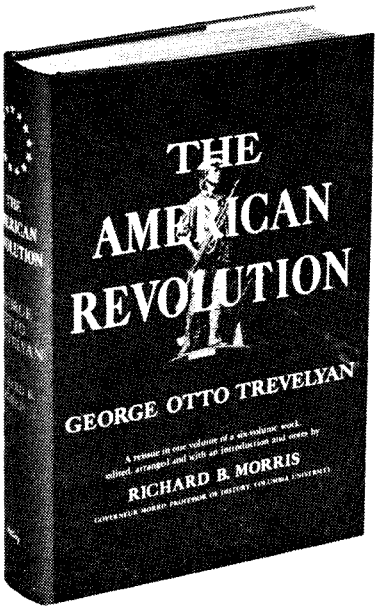
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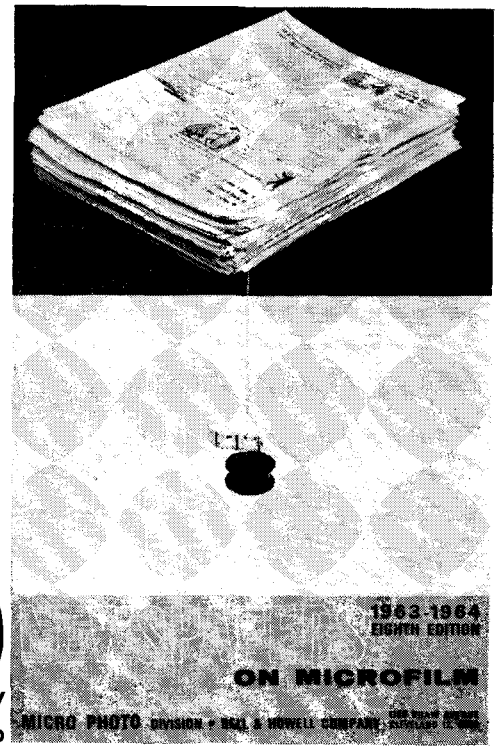


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Johan Huizinga and the Task of Cultural History

R. L. COLIE*

REFLECTION upon the life and works of the Dutch cultural historian, Johan Huizinga, drives one squarely upon the major problems of cultural history. By his own admission and intention, Huizinga was a cultural historian, a man who deliberately brought back into historical study material appropriated by the art historian, the historian of literature, the folklorist, the sociologist; a man who dealt with "culture," both present and past, in his works; a man whose life and works pose cultural problems of their own.

Cultural history is a curious kind of history: to the question "What is it?" there seems to be no easy answer. Theoretical definitions turn out to be practically appalling, and when one attempts a functional definition of the art, made up from the works of cultural historians themselves, one can go mad. The first question about cultural history is not "*What* is it?" so much as "*Is* it?"

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Huizinga said that he and "we," that is, other historians, were all realists in the medieval sense (as opposed, in this case, to nominalists). For him and, presumably, for us, words are "real," both as ideas and as designators of reality. Since he himself said that there was such a thing as cultural history and believed himself to have practiced it all his life, we are entitled to assume that such a discipline does exist, at least in some imperfect mundane imitation of its pure form.

Though cultural history may not be readily recognizable, we are accustomed to identify other kinds of history that contribute to it—social history, for example, or its younger sibling, sociological history. Huizinga's best-known book, *The Waning of the Middle Ages,*[1] which attempted to do for the fifteenth-century North what his master Jakob Burckhardt had done for Italy in the Renaissance, might be classified as social history, since it deals with the life of the people in general, but it is also intellectual history. For in that book Huizinga deals with all kinds of theory—of chivalry, of the sublime life, of religion, of art—the kind of material that the intellectual historian[2] draws upon for his studies and syntheses. Huizinga admitted his debt to sociologists,[3] to whom he owed a great deal; his work overlaps that of intellectual historians. How can it then be distinguished from social, sociological, or intellectual history? In the long essay in which he attempted description of his discipline and some prescription for his colleagues, Huizinga wrote:

> If one likes, one can detect the natural divisions of cultural history in church history and the history of religion, art history, literary history, the histories of philosophy, of science, and of technology.

But, as he went on to say,

> . . . the results of these specialized historical studies, even if they do lead to syntheses and to explanations of significance, do not yield cultural history. . . .
>
> Only when the scholar turns to determining the patterns of life, art, and thought taken all together can there actually be a question of cultural history. . . .[4]

Cultural history is not, then, the sum of the specific parts of the historical

[1] Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over Levens- en Gedachtenvormen der Veertiende en Vijftiende Eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1919), and *Verzamelde Werken* [hereafter cited as *VW*], ed. Leendert Brummel *et al.* (9 vols., Haarlem, 1948–53), III, 1–435.

[2] I do not propose to enter here upon a discussion of what that contradiction in terms, intellectual history, is, though the subject is certainly worth serious consideration.

[3] *VW*, VII, 88–90, 153 (Ernst Troeltsch), V, 87, 89, 441, VII, 84 (Marcel Mauss), V, 446, 450, 455 (Ernest W. Burgess), V, 18, 90, 51–52, 94 (Bronislaw Malinowski), VII, 318, 358, 381–82 (Karl Mannheim), VII, 358 (Max Weber), VII, 359 (Georges Sorel).

[4] Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *ibid.*, VII, 45–46.

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discipline, the philological parts, as Huizinga elsewhere referred to them.[5] Though it relies upon the work of many disciplines, cultural history is not so much interdisciplinary as transcendent of disciplines.[6] In his major works, *The Waning of the Middle Ages, Erasmus,*[7] *Homo Ludens,*[8] and his *Dutch Culture in the Seventeenth Century*[9] (the last still untranslated into English), Huizinga deliberately attempted to provide samples of different sorts of cultural history. Sometimes he stressed the "high" aspects of culture—those subjects which when studied alone make up the matter of intellectual history;[10] sometimes he welded his observations on such materials with observations on another kind of material, which when studied alone makes up "social" history. For him, cultural history was the result of a search for the morphology of the past, its "patterns of life, art, and thought, *taken together* [italics mine]." Cultural history was, in short, a method of understanding many parts of the historical discipline at once, in relation to each other. In Huizinga's hands, cultural history emphasized those forms of life that are expressed in art and in thought (perhaps also in feeling); for Huizinga's contribution was a revivification of the aesthetic element in historical interpretation.

This paper attempts to describe Huizinga's idea of cultural history and of "culture" (one of the most multivalent words in our significant vocabulary) and to account for it, in some measure at least, by the culture from which he himself came. His life and works were the objects of searching criticism by his contemporaries, whose polemic against him contains truth. By reading it against the contribution of Huizinga's work, one may be permitted to suggest certain amendments to Huizinga's prescription, amendments that might make the life of the cultural historian, if not easier, then more pleasant and more productive.

[5] *Ibid.*, 82.

[6] He was, however, prompt to point out that if cultural history lacked discipline then it ceased to be history at all. See below for Huizinga's comments on Spengler; also *ibid.*, 42–43.

[7] Huizinga, *Erasmus* (London and New York, 1924).

[8] *Id., Homo Ludens: Proeve eener Bepaling van het Spel-element der cultuur* (Haarlem, 1938).

[9] *Id., Hollaendische Kultur des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Sozialen Grundlagen und Nationale Eigenart* (Jena, 1932), *Nederland's Beschaving in de Zeventiende Eeuw: Een Schets* (Haarlem, 1941), and *VW*, II, 412–507.

[10] Recently, critics have been very severe against Huizinga's elitist conception of culture. See Pieter Geyl, "De Betekenis van Huizinga," *Nederlandse Figuren* (2 vols., Amsterdam and Antwerp, 1962), I, 127; P. J. Bouman, in his rectoral address at Groningen, Sept. 19, 1960, *In de Laagvlakten der Cultuur*, cited in Pieter Geyl, "Huizinga als Aanklager van zijn Tijd," *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Literary Division, New Ser., XXIV (1961), 141, tr. as "Huizinga as Accuser of His Age," *History and Theory*, II (No. 3, 1963), 231–62; Jan Romein, "Kantteekeningen bij Huizinga's Cultuurhistorische Verkenningen," *Het Onvoltooid Verleden* (Amsterdam, 1948), 96.

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For Huizinga himself has now become a subject suitable for the cultural historian. The works, major, minor, fugitive, of what other twentieth-century historian, have been gathered, so soon after his death, into a magistral edition?[11] There were, of course, cultural causes for such an act of piety. The Dutch knew they had a great national asset in Huizinga, whose European reputation, even whose American reputation, was very high indeed. His own life, furthermore, under the German occupation of Holland required, it was felt, a proper memorial.

In 1940 the University of Leiden, where Huizinga had been a professor for twenty-five years, closed its doors in protest against the dismissal of its Jewish professors. In the spring of 1942 Huizinga was arrested and interned, together with other prominent Hollanders, in the hostage camp of St. Michielsgestel at Brabant. He was fortunate in his captivity, for it did not last long, though he contributed his share to the mutual education of the members of that super-institute for advanced study while he was still an inmate. Because of illness, Huizinga was removed from the camp to the hospital and subsequently released to live, under surveillance, with his second wife and small daughter in the village of De Steeg, near Arnhem on the Rhine. Under the handicaps of illness and booklessness, Huizinga worked out his last years in an effort to understand the world of which he was a part.

In more than the tautological sense, it took Huizinga's whole life to come to the intellectual position he occupied at his death in February 1945, a few months before the end of the war in Europe. His life, though, explains much of both the virtues and the shortcomings of his final position.[12] Huizinga was born in an utterly different world, that of 1872, just after the Franco-Prussian War, into a respectable intellectual family in Groningen. His father, who had been destined for the pulpit, came from a long line of Mennonite ministers, but forsaking the church for late nineteenth-century science, he had become a doctor. At Johan's birth, he was professor of physiology at the University of Groningen. The household was a religious one, and a dissenting one, meaning highly ethical, tolerant, and scrupulously considerate of the ideas and the privacy of other people. In his maturity, Huizinga belonged

[11] *VW* (see note 1, above).

[12] For accounts of Huizinga's life, I have used his own short study, Huizinga, "Mijn Weg tot de Historie," *VW*, I, 11–42; Th. J. G. Locher, "Johan Huizinga," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden* (Leiden, 1945–46), 88–109; C. T. van Valkenburg, *J. Huizinga: Zijn Leven en zijn Persoonlijkheid* (Amsterdam, 1946); Théodora Mongland, "Les dernières années de Johan Huizinga," *Hommage à Lucien Febvre, Eventail de l'Histoire Vivante* (2 vols., Paris, 1953), I, 343–48; G. H. Heering, *Johan Huizinga's Religieuze Gedachten: Als Achtergrond van zijn Werken* (Lochem, 1948).

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to no confession, but remained all his life a believer, as his later works plainly show.[13]

In his youth, Huizinga was interested in some aspects of science, especially astronomy; his early love for landscape and natural history remained with him all his life. He seems not to have been profoundly influenced by the science of his father and his brother (who also became a doctor), though his intense respect for phenomena, for "facts," can be connected to the atmosphere of nineteenth-century science in which he grew up.[14]

In another respect, he was the child of his age. As a student at Groningen University, where he studied, first, Dutch language and literature (with some history for background) and, later, comparative philology, he drew strength for his aesthetic preferences from the prevailing aestheticism of the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[15] In his short autobiographical essay, "My Way to History," written at his wife's request in De Steeg, he reported that as a young man he had gone about in a sort of aesthetic trance induced by his reaction to modern poetry and painting.[16] As most sensitive and literate young Hollanders of his generation did, he fell under the influence of the "Tachtigers," the innovating literary "Men of the Eighties," Willem Kloos, Lodewijk van Deyssel, P. C. Boutens, and the others, whose poetry and criticism effectively modernized his country's literature. With a group of young friends, Huizinga organized exhibitions of modern painting in Groningen, one of them of the works of the then little-known Vincent van Gogh, another of the works of the dreamlike, delicate Jan Toorop.

Later, Huizinga was to bring works of art uncompromisingly to the public and to professional attention, in a way that no historian since Burckhardt had done. Autodidactic and private as his apprenticeship to the long-dead Burckhardt was, Huizinga was in a real sense Burckhardt's first great pupil. Like the "Tachtigers," who knew that the arts were too important to be the exclusive property of the elite, Huizinga also wanted to involve his colleagues in the historical messages cryptic in works of art.

His official course of study in Groningen provided him with an additional insight. After a year in Leipzig, where he studied various ancient lan-

[13] Huizinga, *In de Schaduwen van Morgen: Een Diagnose van het Geestelijke Lijden van Onzen Tijd* (Haarlem, 1935); *VW*, VII, 400–403, and *Geschonden Wereld: Een Beschouwing over de Kansen op Herstel van onze Beschaving* (Haarlem, 1945); *ibid.*, 565–68; see Heering, *Johan Huizinga*, 57–58.

[14] See below.

[15] Huizinga, "Mijn Weg tot de Historie," *VW*, I, 18–20, 25–26; Locher, "Johan Huizinga," 91; J. Kamerbeek, "Huizinga en de Beweging van Tachtig," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, LXVII (No. 2, 1954), 145–64.

[16] Huizinga, "Mijn Weg tot de Historie," *VW*, I, 19–20.

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guages and expanded his musical experience, Huizinga took his degree in 1897, writing on a Sanskrit subject. His dissertation, on ancient Indian drama,[17] satisfied the austere canons of nineteenth-century philology, but went beyond the bounds of his discipline to discuss the dramatic theory implied by the plays and the social implications of the theory. Philology taught him a very important lesson: that the history of language, or of languages, was not the record of stages of individual words, but one record, in vocabulary and syntax, of social life. From his linguistic training, Huizinga learned to detect, often from very small signs, clues to the uncovering of those "forms" of past life to which he devoted his life.

His degree behind him, Huizinga became a high school teacher. Encouraged by his professor of history, P. J. Blok, he sought and got a post in the Haarlem HBS (high school), where he was an eminently successful teacher of history. During his Haarlem years (1896–1905), Huizinga began to work by himself, but urged by Blok, upon a purely historical subject, the rise of medieval Haarlem, his only exercise in a long life of history, in "hard" or archival historical work.[18] Even then, in his odd self-training, Huizinga showed the instincts of a master. Instead of describing Haarlem's development into a major town, important in and of itself, he compared that development, whenever the sources permitted, to other towns like and unlike Haarlem: Delft, Louvain, 's Hertogenbosch.

In 1905, with Blok's support and against the general preference of the university faculty, Huizinga took the great professional step of occupying a chair of history at Groningen, when he was only thirty-two years old. This achievement was considerable, not simply because he won the chair against the candidacy of the director of the national archives, but also because a man not formally trained in history—a young man at that—had succeeded in getting one of the few influential positions in history the country had to offer. His inaugural address, *The Aesthetic Element in Historical Presentation,*[19] was a highly original, very personal document, the promise of much to come. As Jan Romein, his pupil and later professor of history at Amsterdam, said, that statement was the foundation for forty years of Huizinga's work.[20]

It was not until he went to Leiden as professor, ten years later (1915), that the harvest of Huizinga's study began to come in. In 1918 he published

[17] *Id., De Vidusaka in het Indisch Toneel* (Groningen, 1897); *VW,* I, 45–143.

[18] *Id., De Opkomst van Haarlem, Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde,* 3d Ser., IV (1905), 412–46, 4th Ser., I, 16–175; *VW,* I, 203–364.

[19] *Id., Het Aesthetische Bestanddeel van Geschiedkundige Voorstellingen* (Haarlem, 1905); *VW,* VIII, 3–28.

[20] Jan Romein, "Huizinga als Historicus," *Tussen Vrees en Vrijheid* (Amsterdam, 1950), 228.

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Man and Mass in America,[21] an extrapolation from materials he worked through to introduce American history into the Leiden historical curriculum (in itself an event of considerable cultural importance). In 1919 the book on which he had been working for ten years, *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* appeared, and 1920 saw the publication of a seminal essay, again an attempt to deal with a Burckhardtian problem, "The Problem of the Renaissance."[22] Four years later he made his major contribution to Renaissance studies with *Erasmus.*

In 1927, after a trip to North America, he published his casual but incisive comments on the United States, *American Living and Thinking.*[23] "The Task of Cultural History," referred to earlier, appeared in 1929. In this work, Huizinga advocated subsuming under the rubric "cultural history" all the other "philological" disciplines: law, philosophy, the histories of music, literature, and the fine arts. Had he stopped there, one might with justice conclude that he was an elitist, but he was attempting to describe a fuller historical body than the thin outside skin of intellectual history or the history of ideas. Much as he honored ideas, he was, to his everlasting credit, looking for something other than the often alarmingly self-validating Hegelian description of the life of ideas. He turned for help to sociology and anthropology, the emergent "social sciences," and advocated begging, borrowing, or stealing from those disciplines whatever concepts might help in setting or answering historical questions.[24]

In 1932 he gave, to a German audience, his masterly lectures on seventeenth-century Dutch culture, the best synthesis of that complex period yet made and a model for the discipline he was then establishing. From 1935 on, Huizinga's principal work was not historical, though it was cultural. In that year, only two years after Hitler's coup, he published *In the Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Ills of Our Time,*[25] a highly polemical, pessimistic analysis of contemporary mass culture. Ten years later, the book he had been working on during his isolation in De Steeg was posthumously published, *The World in Ruins: A Consideration of the Chances for Restoring Our Civilization,*[26] a sequel and a corrective to *In the Shadow of Tomorrow.*

In 1938 he published his most remarkable book, remarkable both for

[21] Huizinga, *Mensch en Menigte in Amerika: Vier Essays over Beschavingsgeschiedenis* (Haarlem, 1918); *VW,* V, 249–417.
[22] *Id.,* "Renaissance-Studien I: Het Problem," *De Gids,* LXXXIV (Oct., 1920), 107–33, 231–55; *VW,* IV, 231–75.
[23] *Id., Amerika Levend en Denkend: Losse Opmerkingen* (Haarlem, 1927); *VW,* V, 418–89.
[24] *Id.,* "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *VW,* VII, 84.
[25] *Id., In de Schaduwen van Morgen; VW,* VII, 313–428.
[26] *Id., Geschonden Wereld; VW,* VII, 477–606.

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what it did and for what it did not do, *Homo Ludens*. This book shocked his historical colleagues by its greater emphasis on psychology and sociology than on history itself: it was just what it said it was, a study of the play element in culture. "Culture" was Oriental, ancient, medieval, and modern history; the "play element," the games of philosophy, war, law, literature, the arts, as well as play in childhood and in adult life. Out of the phenomena Huizinga constructed a theory, not of games, but of something much more fundamental: a theory of the functions of play, always seen against the ostensibly more serious "normal" modes of life. By no means a history book, *Homo Ludens* is all the same the book of a historian able to select samples of play from their cultural environment without blurring their particular relationship to their particular places and times. *Homo Ludens* is the history neither of playing nor the idea of play. It is a morphological study of play, an interpretation of human behavior based upon comparative examples. The book carries Huizinga's concern for imagination, images, and dreams, so evident in *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* to a deeper level and a broader conclusion—an enterprise the more remarkable when one considers that Huizinga accomplished it, once more, entirely on his own. The conclusions that he came to were his own; heroically, naïvely, he never consulted Freud.[27]

The criticisms of Huizinga's work, both the contemporary reactions and the recent assessments Dutch historians have felt themselves impelled to make of this monument lying athwart the path of their profession, have brought into high relief the problems inherent in his work. We cannot altogether dismiss those anonymous commentators who, according to Th. J. G. Locher, said of *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* "Oh, yes, it is wonderful, but of course it isn't history,"[28] because, though it is history, even that book, which has taught historians the limitations of their habitual craft, falls short of perfection in a very curious way.

"Huizinga is not a political man," wrote Romein in 1931.[29] What is worse, politics did not interest him. This is, after all, a grave defect in the professional historian. Huizinga's failure to understand that politics was significant —or, more strongly put, his withdrawal from political considerations—can be clarified a little by looking at his own tradition and milieu. In the first place, European professors, even professors of politics, often felt themselves re-

[27] See Romein, "Huizinga als Historicus," 218; Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *VW,* VII, 73–75; see below.

[28] Locher, "Johan Huizinga," 101.

[29] Romein, "Kantteekeningen," 92; cf. Romein's gentler judgment in "Huizinga als Historicus," 216: "Politics did not suit him."

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moved by their calling from the dirty world of practical politics. Devoted as they were to truths (sometimes even to truth itself), they were, they thought, entitled by their position to look upon politics as epiphenomena, events occurring in too raveled a skein to be worth final consideration. Julien Benda's accusation of treason brought against intellectuals was a comment upon the self-justification of an international class of responsible men privileged to withhold their responsibility to the actual world.

In Huizinga's case, there were additional reasons for his avoiding politics: he was brought up a Mennonite, in a nonconforming confession by tradition both pacifist and tolerant. In the nineteenth century, that confession was still intransigent in its ethical demands upon its members, however tolerant it might appear of the aberrations of those outside the faith. It was in many ways a self-regulated community whose confessional values were more important for its members than the values of the state or of society in general. The separatist otherworldliness of Menno Simons had in the passage of time been transformed into a spiritual separation from within the total society. The austerities of intellectual stoicism, a common ethical view in European scholarship before 1918, fitted in admirably with this tradition. Though the Mennonite ethos demanded constant, unflagging effort toward the idea, if not the realization, of perfection, it also encouraged intellectual and spiritual independence and permitted its members to exercise their own judgment, in contradistinction to the judgment of society. Without being estranged from society, the Mennonites were autonomous within it, and, what is very important for an understanding of Huizinga's career, were accustomed to being outsiders even when they were inside. Huizinga came into his profession from the outside; his way of seeing history, like his way to history, was always that of an outsider.

Naturally enough, some of the sharpest criticism of his work came from men who, like Pieter Geyl and Romein, were from the beginning professional historians, and who, though very differently, were both deeply involved in the political life of their time.[30] But not all critics of Huizinga were men who believed that he did not really write history, or did not write history really well. Another criticism, in many ways more telling, came from men who, like the brilliant man of letters Menno ter Braak, saw in his "Cousin Johan"[31] the image of officialdom, of establishment, and of intel-

[30] Geyl spent a spirited youth involved in the effort to unite the Netherlands and Flemish-speaking Belgium into one cultural unit; Romein was an outspoken Marxist.

[31] Menno ter Braak, "Huizinga voor de Afgrond," *Verzameld Werk* (7 vols., Amsterdam, 1949–51), I, 332–47: in spite of the evident rudeness of the phrase, Ter Braak was accurate; he and Huizinga were in fact cousins.

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lectual conformity. After the publication in 1935 of *In the Shadow of Tomorrow,* with its castigation of yellow journalism, advertising, the radio, and all other means of mass communication; with its denunciation of collective groups of all kinds, of gigantic spectator sports, of bread-and-circuses displays; of exhibitionism and puerilism in political and social behavior, Huizinga was bitterly attacked for his faulty reading of modern culture. Ter Braak, who was no more the arbitrary champion of modern *mores* than Huizinga, taxed Huizinga for his simple revulsion from mass culture, for retreating as gentleman and scholar from the aesthetically and morally ugly. For Ter Braak, as for Romein, Huizinga was indeed too much like Erasmus, immensely learned, scrupulously critical. However fierce Huizinga might have been about an interpretation of medieval history, or Erasmus about a scriptural emendation, they were quite unwilling to take sides on important contemporary issues.[32] "Unwilling": the suggestion was that Huizinga, like Erasmus, was actually unable to take sides, that he had been unmanned by "much reading of books," and by having become the official voice of Dutch history (he had been the mentor of Princess Juliana during her studies at Leiden). Though Huizinga wrote about both past and present, in Ter Braak's view he was prevented by his officialdom from recognizing the reality of either present or past. His elegiac devotion to a vanished past, Ter Braak thought, barred him from understanding the realities of a present both harsher and more complicated than anything in his scholarly experience. His heart really lay, according to this interpretation, in such societies as fifteenth-century Brussels or seventeenth-century Amsterdam, which allowed more scope to their artists and men of letters than any modern society could.[33]

Though this criticism is by no means all untrue, it omits a great deal. Ter Braak is right, surely, that Huizinga expressed a fundamental indecision about the present, and even in some ways about the past;[34] that he preferred, as Geyl put it, "half-tones," anomalies, nuances, complexes of ideas and social forms, problems, to sharply etched delineations of the historical past.[35] Like many intellectuals, Huizinga played the critical role of his profession as long as he was able, sometimes postponing judgment almost past bearing. To persons of a more headlong temperament than his, Huizinga's ability to endure indecision, to consider problems either unsolved or insoluble, at great length and in all their confusing detail, without losing his

[32] Romein, "Kantteekeningen," 45, and "Huizinga als Historicus," 232.
[33] Ter Braak, "Huizinga voor de Afgrond," 345–46.
[34] *Ibid.*, 338–39, 346–47.
[35] Geyl, "De Betekenis van Huizinga," 125.

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head, his way, or his balance, is one measure of his greatness. This is no sign that he was unalterably indecisive; like all historians, he knew how easily the radical skeptic is mired in the unpaved paths of history. Nor was he a hopeless romantic; he knew too much about the fifteenth century to regard it, as some thought he did, as the cultural arcadia from which all civilizations had since declined. Much of the power of *The Waning of the Middle Ages* derives from Huizinga's uncompromising presentation of the physical and spiritual horrors incumbent upon every life lived in that arcadian fifteenth century.

Werner Kaegi, professor of history at Basel, the town of Erasmus and Burckhardt, translated many of Huizinga's works into German and came thereby to a profound understanding of the man and his method. In comparing Huizinga to Burckhardt, Kaegi, too, pointed to the absence of political concern that chiefly distinguished pupil from master;[36] evidently Huizinga was unable to take the state seriously, even as a work of art. For example, in *Dutch Culture of the Seventeenth Century,* we are left with no particular sense of the relation of politics to the life described in the book—and this in a period when there were certainly two, and possibly three, revolutions in Dutch politics! In "The Task of Cultural History," Huizinga's wording reveals his extreme lack of sympathy for political history: "Cultural history can be separated from political and economic history in that it deserves its name only in so far as it is directed to deeper and more general considerations."[37]

His presentation of Joan of Arc is a pronounced example of his attitude to politics: he saw her mission as above politics, inspired by some force beyond the normal, and her death the obvious result of political manipulation.[38] His short, brilliant pieces on John of Salisbury and Hugo Grotius are graceful and exceedingly perceptive, though one would never have guessed from Huizinga that either man was a political theorist of some importance. His insight into John as a "chivalric clerk" and a "pre-gothic spirit" helps to orient him and us in the twelfth century, but the same insight is not brought to bear upon the *Policraticus* so that we may be helped to understand exactly how John's politics are related to the lucidity of his mind and character.[39] When Huizinga contrasted Grotius, who constructed, elevated, and ordered,

[36] Werner Kaegi, "Das historische Werk Johan Huizingas," *Historische Meditationen,* Zweite Folge (Zurich, 1946), 257–64.

[37] Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *VW,* VII, 46.

[38] *Id.,* "L'état bourguignon, ses rapports avec la France, et les origines d'une nationalité néerlandaise," *ibid.,* II, 176–77, and "Bernard Shaw's Heilige," *ibid.,* III, 530–62.

[39] *Id.,* "Een Praegothieke Geest: Johannes van Salisbury," *ibid.,* IV, 85–104.

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to Erasmus, who displayed, expanded, and explicated, he characterized as no one else has the difference between late and early humanism. When he compared the style of Grotius' *De Iure Belli ac Pacis,* with its extravagant periodic praise of Louis XIII (whom Grotius certainly recognized as a personally undistinguished monarch), to the style of Jacob Van Campen's town hall at Amsterdam, he brought one whole area of baroque theory into alignment with another.[40]

Homo Ludens demonstrates the same gap. In the whole book there is no discussion of the play, the competition, the betting, or the display of politics. Of course, as always, there is much to occupy our minds otherwise, but in the end, we must ask, what about election campaigns, what about parliamentary divisions, what about "war games," what about the stock market, what about the professional gamester? His critics were right about Huizinga's affinity for Erasmus, although that comparison pricked him, and he later wrote that he had never really liked the man.[41] Intellectuals avoid the crudities and compromises necessary to political survival, but even Erasmus was forced to consider the political implications of his theory of human nature, though Huizinga devoted only three pages to the subject. Why did Huizinga consistently overlook such things?

He really did not care much for that side of life. Ter Braak's criticism of Huizinga goes beyond academic questions to a fundamental one: what is a man's obligation to the world he lives in? For Ter Braak, "a politician without a party," as he called himself, a journalist remarkably willing to commit himself, and for Romein, a Marxist, there was no avoiding the political crisis of the 1930's. Committed to political life and action, both men, intellectuals themselves, saw in Huizinga the traditional *trahison des clercs* they had vowed never to commit. Huizinga was so obliging as to confirm their view of him. In answer to their criticisms he wrote plainly: "I have always lived in the chiaroscuro into which Romein thinks he has seen me withdraw. To offer sharply delineated formulas to replace old ones is not my business. I have never sought leadership, and the oblivion with which he threatens me has no terrors for me."[42]

Romein and Ter Braak knew the dangers threatening Europe and their country. Romein got away with his life in the war, but not without danger; Ter Braak has his place in the heroic calendar of this century. An inveterate and fierce critic of National Socialism, Ter Braak recognized the absolute finality of modern politics. Just when his country was capitulating to the

[40] *Id.*, "Hugo de Groot en zijn Eeuw," *ibid.*, II, 389–403.
[41] *Id.*, "Mijn Weg tot de Historie," *ibid.*, I, 41.
[42] *Id.*, "Aanhangsel," *ibid.*, VII, 172.

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invader, Ter Braak took his life rather than fall into Nazi hands. He had not exaggerated his danger; within the week, the police were to come to arrest him.

By 1940 Huizinga simply did not see politics as real, still less as final. When the police came to arrest *him,* two years later, he was that much nearer knowing how real politics can be, but he distrusted political passion too much to have become politically active in the interim. Between 1940 and 1942 Huizinga did not join the underground; he was at home to be arrested. Even to write that sentence is to seem to pass a judgment to which, God knows, none of us is entitled. But the comparison with his friend Marc Bloch is inevitable—Bloch, who was over fifty and the father of six children, was called up in 1939 (as he said, the oldest captain in the French Army) to resist invasion for the second time; who came back to France immediately after the evacuation of 1940; who was active in the resistance, was arrested, tortured, and shot in 1944. The comparison is the more telling, since both Huizinga and Bloch, devoted to the intellectual occupation to which they had been called, spent the last years of their lives as historians, Bloch in a reassessment of the historian's craft,[43] Huizinga in a prescription for his suffering century. The differences between the two men speak out even here. In the interstices of his busy life in the resistance, Bloch turned back to study the significance of his trade in the whole of social life, in history, and in the history of society; in the waste of his isolation, Huizinga came out of his métier into the "real" ruined world around him. Bloch makes the study of history seem "real," even in the midst of a war, but Huizinga's ruined world, which Europe surely then was, seems vague and unreal to us.[44] The tools of Huizinga's craft were insufficiently sharp for his last analytical task. Bloch, after all, had taken the world as a hard reality all his life; he had chosen to be a socialist and an economic historian who knew, as it were, the tough and unsightly problems of society's digestion, while for forty years Huizinga had been busy with the very important but tenuous problem of society's self-image. Bloch had already fought one war by 1940; Holland and Huizinga, pacifists both, were simply unschooled in the crises into which war swept them. Most of all, it was not the craft of history that made Bloch into the man he was—that was his own achievement. Huizinga's long preoccupation with intellectual and spiritual aspirations left him, in his old age, inexperienced and almost defenseless in crises of life and death.

Almost, but not quite: in the brave process of modernizing himself, be-

[43] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft,* tr. Peter Putnam (New York, 1953).

[44] As Geyl has pointed out in "Huizinga als Aanklager van zijn Tijd," 146–47; Romein, "Huizinga als Historicus," 225.

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tween 1940 and 1945, Huizinga emerged from the chiaroscuro in which he had said in 1931 that he had always lived. He chose sides, of course; he chose, as we might guess, on intellectual and moral rather than political grounds; he chose as a stoic. *In the Shadow of Tomorrow,* that stoic tract, described the growth all around him of unreason and antireason. His diatribes against mass communications, mass entertainments, and collective irresponsibility were not aesthetic only but moral as well. He objected with all his being to the cheapening of human life they involved, to the restrictions upon individual judgment they imposed. For Huizinga, as for Erasmus, the exercise of reason was the moral obligation of all men; simply, mass culture was a panacea, a soporific, or a swindle. Book burning, militarism, and anti-Semitism were the logical outcome, in his view, of a culture that generally discouraged individual independence, as well as the outcome of a specific culture with a lamentably persistent preoccupation with primitivism.[45]

In the Shadow of Tomorrow points out at length the grimmer aspects of mass culture that Huizinga had first sketched in *Man and Mass in America,* a book partially a continuation of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America.* Huizinga was in many ways like De Tocqueville. *Au fond* Europeans, both men looked at America with a strange admixture of admiration and apprehension. Both were, in spite of their idiosyncratic democracies, aristocrats of the intellect. When we compare the two men, we see at once how little Huizinga saw his subject in political terms: for him America was a problem of culture, not a problem of democracy.

The democratic political theory, such as it is, is by definition activist; to some extent or another, the democrat has to assume political responsibility. "Culture" is less demanding, for the student of culture need not expect of himself active immixture in contemporary affairs. A man whose business is "culture" more properly observes the contemporary world than attempts to direct or to shape it. If he can understand it, that will do. Like many intellectuals after 1918, Huizinga withdrew from professional consideration of his own time, frightened off, thought Romein (who was not), by the Russian Revolution[46] and by the general *crise de conscience européenne* in which value patterns altered as radically as political power at the end of the war. Like many other men, Huizinga turned in upon his profession:[47] he was,

[45] Huizinga, "Twee Worsterlaars met de Engel," *VW,* IV, 460, and *In de Schaduwen van Morgen, ibid.,* VII, 351; Romein, "Huizinga als Historicus," 230.

[46] *Ibid.,* 214, 220.

[47] For a discussion of the same phenomenon in American historiography, see John Higham, "Beyond Consensus: The Historian as Moral Critic," *American Historical Review,* LXVIII (Apr. 1962), 616–17.

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after all, forty-five years old at the armistice, and might have been expected, even without a crisis of ideas, to have turned in to a definition of his métier. Today the problems of professional limitation and restriction, of intellectual and technical compartmentalization are apparent to the least of us, but in 1918 it did not seem such automatic self-mutilation to seek personal fulfillment in one's discipline or occupation, particularly to men like Huizinga, oppressed by the grossness and crudity of modern political manipulation.

That Ter Braak and Romein, a generation younger than Huizinga, were impatient with his "pettifoggery" (Romein's word) is understandable and even laudable. Both were men committed to commitment, in the days when that word still meant something. But Huizinga's accomplishment was laudable too. He made his "Leiden years" golden, as his bibliography shows; he was active in his profession, giving his discipline a new dimension, making his reputation (and Holland's as well) among foreign scholars, and in general dazzling his readers and hearers with the originality of his work. Who else could have written *The Waning of the Middle Ages* or *Homo Ludens*? By common consent, no other man alive. Those are highly personal books, marked not just by his style of writing, distinguished though that is, but also by his style of thought and of feeling. They are, almost, works of art in a discipline in which art is far from common and even suspect.

Huizinga's originality was rather like that of Henry Murray, the original of Shaw's 'Enry 'Iggins; it was not transferable. Over and over again, his professional critics have remarked on the fact that Huizinga left no "school" behind him, no professional following to carry on his work.[48] True enough, and the fact is neither a surprise nor a disgrace. Huizinga's method, a combination of prodigious industry and learning with extraordinary insight, is not a practical model for many scholars. Moreover, in spite of his intellectual aloofness and his timidity (if that is what it was), Huizinga was after all a pioneer, his emotional energies consumed in making his vision of history, if not its chart, clear to his students and his readers. Of his contributions to the broadening and enlivening of a discipline always in danger of death by suffocation, there is no question at all. Why could he not have fired others to emulate him?

The question reaches toward a more important point than just the historical fact that none of his students attempted to do what he so brilliantly did. After all, most other European professors, however remote from politics they may have been, were extremely concerned to form a school to carry on their ideas and their methods. Huizinga himself disclaimed all efforts at

[48] Locher, "Johan Huizinga," 103; Romein, "Huizinga als Historicus," 227.

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"inspiration," again and again demonstrated his own individualism and independence of others. He honored that attitude of independence in his pupils, too. He was, as Locher testifies,[49] eminently interested in their own development, even when it led them far from his own position. He never exerted upon his large and devoted audiences the particular charismatic influence that lies so temptingly at the disposal of any gifted teacher. Huizinga was fundamentally distrustful of the emotional power of one man over another, suspicious of the instinct rouser, the denigrator of reason and fact. His reluctance to found a school of cultural historians may seem to us an abdication of professional responsibility, but it is of a piece with his view of human nature as expressed in *Man and Mass in America* and *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*.

There is still more to be said about Huizinga's unwillingness in this respect. Having come into his profession aslant, and yet having risen to occupy one of the most eminent positions in history that his little country afforded, he was a particularly privileged man. All along the line of his career, exceptions had had to be made for him. He himself came from no historical school, though he had learned from so many; he had by his own choice turned to history because he was dissatisfied to remain a school philologist and wanted something more. He was no school fish, and he veered off from schools whenever he met them. When we survey the corpus of his work, we are again struck by a remarkable omission: in spite of his interest in sociology and sociological theory, Huizinga was not, it seems, interested in professional or occupational groups. In *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* the guilds appear in their exhibitionist rather than their everyday garb; a singular blankness in *Dutch Culture in the Seventeenth Century* comes from Huizinga's failure to describe for us the activities of the regent class.

His absence of interest in professionalism is one factor in his insufficient understanding of contemporary totalitarianism. Like many another man, Huizinga saw National Socialism rather as a return to barbarism than as an extraordinary professional exploitation, a narrowly defined technology of services to the state. He recognized aspects of the system's inhumanity, its need to subtract from each individual man such personality as he possessed, but he saw this as the outcome of a general weakening of individual strength manifest everywhere in twentieth-century life, and he missed the deliberate calculation of the Nazi program. Huizinga saw at once the horrors in National Socialism; its ultimate horror he may never have realized.

That absence of professionalism may be responsible for another peculiar-

[49] Locher, "Johan Huizinga," 103.

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ity in Huizinga's work: his lack of interest in change. *The Waning of the Middle Ages* discusses continuity rather than change, in spite of the brilliant final chapter, "The Advent of the New Form." *Homo Ludens* extrapolates play from changing cultures, but though it demonstrates the difference in forms of play, the book does not deal with their transformations. *Dutch Culture in the Seventeenth Century* is a masterly portrait of that complicated period, but it is a still life (appropriate, one might argue, to a period excelling in the production of still lifes!). We know that eighteenth-century Holland was very different from the great age that preceded it, and Huizinga reminds us of that fact continually, but he does not show us how the one became the other.[50]

He was not simply neglectful; he wrote as he did on principle, out of his distrust of the concept of evolution in history.[51] The notion of evolution, with its implicit progressivism, he believed, led to a simplistic linear causality (illustrated in such books as H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* and Hendrik Van Loon's *The Making of Mankind,* and even in more serious books, such as James Harvey Robinson's *Mind in the Making*), a "causality" deeply involved with and almost identical with a concealed tautology, that all things work by a kind of historical natural selection for the better.[52] Huizinga's own method was quite different, of course: he chose to examine problems in all their interrelation, by a method that tends to stasis, to the still life rather than the pageant. To alter the metaphor, Huizinga erected a considerable road block across the historical path, along which most historians proceed at breakneck pace from some "there" of their choice to the particular "here" with which they are concerned.

It is clear from the foregoing that Huizinga was not, in the strict sense of the word, a professional historian. He was something more than that, a professional scholar. The professional scholar is usually not a school fish. He swims about in the great ocean of learning alone. He is nearly always bigger than the other fish—Huizinga was that—and his normal practice is to prey on them, which Huizinga never did. For a fish of independent habits, as Ter Braak and Romein observed, Huizinga lacked the proper bite. He did not engage with the other fish in order to consume them, but, like a whale, swam benevolently about feeding on plankton refined for his digestion by the remarkable sieve in his throat.

The plankton of my metaphor is phenomena, the "irreducible facts" from

[50] Some historian should devote himself to this problem, eminently worth solving.

[51] Huizinga regarded the idea of evolution as originating in historical study, and only later appropriated by biology.

[52] Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *VW,* VII, 46–56, 50–51.

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which, and only from which, history could, according to Huizinga, be understood. Platonist though he was—in "The Discipline of History" he defends the existence of "the historical idea"—Huizinga was an Aristotelian, too. He knew that "the worth of history"[53] depends upon the ultimate trustworthiness of data. The "forms of life" that he enjoined cultural historians to delineate were to be drawn, in the Baconian or Darwinian way, from examples of life itself. In Huizinga's view of truth, there may be more innocence than is possible for us, brought up as most of us are in the almost nihilistic relativism of our times. He was a "realist" in both the medieval and the modern senses of that word. On the one hand, he believed in the truth of the word as an indicator of truth (that is, he was an idealist); on the other, he believed in the fact of the fact itself (that is, he was a phenomenalist). He adopted both the logos realism of the medieval schoolmen and the representative realism of the Flemish painters.[54] Both ways of interpreting the world were, for him, real and necessary.

Two anecdotes bearing on Huizinga's attitude to contemporary culture may serve as illustrations here. In 1935, when he was rector of the University of Leiden, he turned away a group of German ladies under the leadership of a gentleman who was warning them, loudly, on the public street, against the danger to Christian children in the ever-present risk of Jewish ritual murder. Huizinga had absolutely no doubt that people who behaved in such a way were not to have the privilege of his university, and he forbade them entrance. But he did not stop at that; he followed them out, explaining that the view they had been given was incorrect, that it was merely a medieval superstition long since demonstrated to be without foundation.[55] Another story was told by a student of Huizinga: in 1936 or thereabouts, at an international historical conference held at Leiden, a professor from the Third *Reich* read a paper defending a racist thesis concerning, I believe, a medieval Flemish town. When his non-German colleagues fell upon the paper, its deliverer accused them of the usual democratic hypocrisy. They professed themselves willing to listen to all viewpoints, but were unwilling to give his ideas, which they did not like, a fair hearing. Finally Huizinga stood up, reiterated his belief in the democratic proposition, granted that the German colleague had a right to express his own opinion, as in fact he had done, but

[53] *Id.*, "De Wetenschap der Geschiedenis," *ibid.*, 134–50, 150–64.

[54] For realism (as opposed to nominalism), see Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *ibid.*, 38, and "De Wetenschap der Geschiedenis," *ibid.*, 134–38. For representative realism, see *id.*, *Nederland's Beschaving in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, *ibid.*, II, 484–85, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, *ibid.*, III, 330–32, 450–55, and "Renaissance en Realisme," *ibid.*, IV, 276–97.

[55] Kaegi, "Johan Huizinga zum Gedächtnis," 13.

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observed that no one was obliged to accept the opinion—the more so in this case, since the thesis they had just heard was not true.[56]

Huizinga was not afraid of that word, "true," such a shibboleth for historians, to whom it seems rather the password to philosophy than to history. He never denied that history, with all its faults, could yield truth, because of his belief in the integrity of fact. For him, phenomena were democratic too, and thus recalcitrant to system. His view of history became less and less Hegelian as he grew older; the more he practiced his craft, the more he distrusted dialectical world historical systems and patterns, world historical figures, the notion of progress, and the alarming tautologies implicit in the concept of *Zeitgeist.* In "The Task of Cultural History" (1929), he wrote:

> Cultural history has for the moment more than enough to do in determining the specific forms of historical life. Its task is to determine a morphology of the particular. There will be time enough for description of whole cultures around one central concept: let us for the time being be pluralists above all. In cultural history very little has been done in the obvious field of defining the objectively observable and distinguishable forms of past life. . . .
>
> For cultural history . . . the forms of the past are expressions of a spirit it attempts to understand, *always viewing them in the thick of events* [italics mine]. Cultural history directs its attention toward objects, but is continually turning back from these objects to the world in which they had their part. . . .
>
> The objects of cultural history are the manifold forms and functions of civilization as they can be detected from the history of peoples and of social groups, and as they consolidate into cultural figures, motifs, themes, symbols, concepts, ideals, styles, and sentiments. Cultural history can, time and again, show the existence and effect of such phenomena in the varied course of history. It makes use of these forms in order to understand particular events better, and in its turn thus lends confirmation and support to the schemata of the specialized disciplines. Many subjects of cultural history lie either outside the boundaries of particular fields or else are spread over all of them. The bucolic, for example, affects not only literature and the visual arts, but also the dance, music, social life, and political theory—in brief, it is a cultural theme. Cultural functions such as service, honor, fidelity, obedience, imitation, resistance, and struggle for freedom are each of them subjects for sociology, if you will, but are not given conclusive treatment in the systematic study that sociology makes of them, unless cultural history also shows their constantly varying shapes and effects in different ages and in different countries.[57]

"Let us be pluralists above all" helps to explain two further omissions in Huizinga's range of reference, Marx and Freud.[58] Suspicious always of explanations in terms of linear causality, Huizinga shied away from what

[56] I am indebted for this story, which I fear I remember only imperfectly, to Professor G. A. van Alphen of the University of Pretoria, South Africa.

[57] Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *VW,* VII, 81–84.

[58] See Romein, "Huizinga als Historicus," 218–19, 220–22.

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seemed to him the determinism in the systems of both men. His distrust of Marxian determinism is obvious, and though Huizinga may have been the pettifogger Romein thought him, to have rejected the Marxian explanation, the lively Bloch also felt obliged to speak out against the naïveté of assuming that all events in the course of history could be explained satisfactorily according to the system of one nineteenth-century intellectual reformer.[59]

There were of course deeper reasons why Huizinga, so interested in the outer manifestations of men's inner lives, should have made so great a circle around the works of Freud. It was partly his milieu that made him draw back, but also it was his religious tradition, honoring the right to privacy for everyone. Psychoanalysis seemed to Huizinga simplistically deterministic, in the first place, and dangerous as a manipulation of human behavior, but, quite simply, it violated a basic law of his civilization, the right to privacy within the recesses of one's being. Hence it is, odd though it seems, that the author of *The Waning of the Middle Ages* and of *Homo Ludens* did not consult *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious* or *The Interpretation of Dreams,* both books obviously relevant to his investigations. And hence it is, too, that Huizinga thought that his evidence could persuade the sight-seeing ladies to change their minds about Jewish ritual murder.

Huizinga was more outspoken about historical systems than about systems out of his immediate field. In a long review of Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes* and Wells's *Outline of History,* called "Two Wrestlers with the Angel,"[60] he laid out his arguments against their schematizations. Wells's book was not worth a great deal of analysis: it was too simplistic for real significance. Spengler's demanded and got more attention.

When *The Decline of the West* appeared in 1918, it was a best seller. The *Zeitgeist,* if it existed, certainly seemed to be one of *Untergang*. Indeed, one critic thought that *The Waning of the Middle Ages* was written out of the *Untergangsgeist.*[61] The difference between Spengler and Huizinga rested upon the attitudes of the two men toward facts. Though he readily recognized why the book had the impact it had, Huizinga saw straight through the pretentiousness of the *Untergang:*

> Whoever begins to read *The Decline of the West* is at once struck by the naïve pride that the author takes, on almost every page, in the great novelty of his in-

[59] Marc Bloch, *Strange Defeat,* tr. Gerard Hopkins (London and New York, 1949), 152.

[60] *VW,* IV, 441–46.

[61] Albert Verwey, cited by Geyl in "Huizinga als Aanklager van zijn Tijd," 138; Huizinga later regretted the title he chose (*VW,* VII, 170–71), not the book, as Ter Braak supposed (*Verzameld Werk,* I, 335). Lucien Febvre suggested that a proper title would have been "the twilight [*la crépuscule*] of the middle ages." ("Un moment avec Huizinga," *Annales,* VI [Oct.–Dec. 1951], 493.)

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sights. "Noch nie" has anyone ever understood what he presents to us here, is the refrain that Spengler never stops repeating. This self-exaltation culminates in the unforgettable phrase twice used by the author: "Here [that is, in this book] the deed of Copernicus has been recapitulated once more—a revolution in thought like that accomplished by Copernicus in the natural sciences, now accomplished for the learned disciplines." We smile and are on guard. Whenever Spengler, crowing with triumph, drives a herd of facts before him like cows, which he seems to regard as the Cattle of the Sun, an unconscious spark of the comic flickers from behind the titanic seriousness of the book.

But all the same, before long he catches us in the iron grip of his thought. He makes us forget that we really know better; he brings us to our knees before the sacrifices to the Baal of history; he bewitches us with his beautiful language, and in the end we say, "It is a horrible distortion of history, but it is a work of genius, it is great, and . . . maybe . . . after all . . . I'd better believe it."[62]

Spengler's faults are interesting in this connection because his virtues were so much like those of Huizinga (who also wrote like an angel, which is not apparent from present translations). But Spengler's purpose was utterly different from Huizinga's. Instead of offering analysis, Spengler offered aesthetic synthesis, an impressionistic landscape of history that at the same time predicts the day of wrath to come. In Spengler's scorn for historical facts ("vom Darwinismus zurückeroberte Plattheiten") as historians manipulate them in meaningless microscopic areas of time and place, Huizinga read Spengler's essential naïveté about historical method and function.[63] Though he of all men knew the slipperiness of historical fact, Huizinga was never tempted to throw the soapy baby out with the bath, however spectacular such a gesture may occasionally seem. He would not sacrifice the concepts of accuracy and truth built up for his discipline with such labor and such love. For him, the task of the cultural historian was to recover a morphology that had been there, to understand past life from such phenomena as somehow or other could be salvaged from the epistemological wreckage of human plurality and time's effects. When we compare Huizinga's work with Spengler's grand rhetoric of history, we recognize at once the fundamental way in which Huizinga *was* a historian, who never lost his sense of the uniqueness of historical forms for the sake of preconceived pattern or paradigm.[64]

Quite literally, then, Spengler's claim to have accomplished a "Copernican revolution" for historical thinking was false, since, unlike Copernicus, Spengler did not "save the phenomena," but on the contrary sacrificed them

[62] Huizinga, "Twee Worstelaars," *VW*, IV, 443.
[63] *Ibid.*, 468–70.
[64] Huizinga, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *ibid.*, VII, 75–76.

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without a qualm to a morphology so imaginative as to have become a mythology. Huizinga lived well into the mythmaking generation, and though he loved certain ancient ideals, he distrusted them nevertheless, along with all myths and all mythmakers. In Spengler's hands, history had indeed lost its fundamental discipline, and there had become something else, both myth and prophecy.[65]

From Marcel Mauss, from Bloch's *Les rois thaumaturges*,[66] Huizinga learned to read the meaning of myth and prophecy for the past; from Troeltsch and Weber he learned enough about the sociology of religion to make, for instance, a radically new evaluation of the role of the Dutch Reformed Church in the country's seventeenth-century culture;[67] from Burckhardt, Simmel, De Tocqueville, and Mannheim, he learned to organize sometimes very fragmentary materials so that they illuminated areas, periods, or complexes of ideas. But in spite of it all, he never dealt by his own method with the phenomena of political history. As a result, there is a fundamental weakness in Huizinga's practice, a sense in which his culture can, like a dress, be stripped off the body of history. Dress tells a great deal about the person wearing it, of course, but it never tells all, and may indeed disguise exactly the formations we most wish to know. Do we wear our clothes to enhance our qualities or to disguise our defects? What aspects of ourselves does our dress emphasize, and why? Why is one fashion stylish now, another tomorrow?[68]

How much more valuable Huizinga's work would have been, had he been able to show us exactly what art and games and philosophy and pageantry and executions have to do with geography, political life, and economics? Or, if he could have shown us, pointing to similarities of content and function, not of form only, just how Grotius' *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* and the Amsterdam town hall were alike? One does not have to be an economic determinist or a devotee of *Zeitgeist* to ask the extent to which political, social, and aesthetic forms coincide. Whatever they do is after all significant. Their coincidence is a fact of considerable cultural importance; their noncoincidence is even more interesting and raises questions worth trying to answer.

Every now and then, Huizinga saw connections in history with blinding

[65] *Id.*, "Twee Worstelaars," *ibid.*, IV, 448–49, 469–70.
[66] *Ibid.*, 127–29.
[67] Huizinga, *Nederland's Beschaving in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, *ibid.*, 449–62.
[68] Huizinga was interested in the history of fashion, which he considered the only historical subject to which the concept of evolution might really be fitted. (*Id.*, "De Taak van Cultuurgeschiedenis," *ibid.*, VII, 52.)

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clarity. October 3 is the day on which every Leidenaar, townsman, student, or former student, eats "hutspot," potato and carrot stew, in honor of the Relief of Leiden in the sixteenth-century rebellion. On that date in 1942 Huizinga addressed his fellow internees in St. Michielsgestel on the subject of siege and relief, of maintaining trust in ideals, of not giving way, no matter how forbidding the outlook may be.[69] The Relief of Leiden came only after terrible famine and the temptation to great inhumanity. The relief of the Netherlands, which Huizinga did not live to see, came after a far more terrible famine and far greater inhumanity, but like the Prince of Orange, whose motto was "Je Maintiendray," some men in the 1940's maintained through the ordeal their reason and their values, and therefore their culture. Like Huizinga, William I was a stoic—he had to be, in his precarious predicament—but unlike Huizinga he was also a *politique,* fully aware of the importance of politics, of economics, and of geography to the cause he so faithfully served. The Prince of Orange firmly maintained, for example, one out-and-out lie: that he was in revolt, not against his liege lord Philip II of Spain, but against that sovereign's unjust representatives administering the provinces of the Netherlands.

William of Orange had much of the serpent's wisdom; Huizinga a fair share of the innocence of the dove. The ideal cultural historian needs both. He must somehow manage to do what Huizinga did (impossible though that task may seem to most of us), and he must do more. He must apply Huizinga's comparative method to more kinds of data than Huizinga admitted to consideration, must relate the kind of life form, to which Huizinga pointed, to such things as voting, paying taxes, making a living, gathering or not gathering the harvest—he must see these activities too as fundamental life forms. Since 1945 it has become clear to the most cloistered historian that politics is essential to social life, present or past, even though, to be sure, an understanding of politics is no substitute for an understanding of social life. He has learned, too, that history is essential to politics and that even historians can be gainfully employed by politicians. Huizinga was born in a time and place unfavorable to both views. He was sixty-eight years old when he learned that even if a man can ignore politics, politics does not ignore him. Because he had so long kept politics at a distance from him, Huizinga was unprepared for the brute fact that an elderly, respectable, honorable professor was fundamentally a political being. Professors are by definition not neutral, whatever they may think; Huizinga was not in fact harmless, though he may have regarded himself as such. This was the lesson he had

[69] *Id.*, "Leidens Ontzet," *ibid.*, I, 50–59.

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so suddenly to learn, at an age when most professors are allowed to retire. What is splendid about him is that under all these handicaps he set about to catch up on his culture, to prepare himself as a political being; he kept on preparing himself, as he always had before, autodidactically and independently, until he died. His last book, however thin it seems to us now, marked his own turning from criticism to involvement, from diagnosis to prescription. Like a doctor, he knew that he would be judged by his prescription, and he took that chance. Huizinga was "active" in politics only as his life ran out, too late to realize the implications of his experience in his method, too late to translate his new knowledge into the practice at which he excelled.

But, as he himself insisted, as long as our culture goes on, we can learn from it. Though professors are likelier to fight in rear-guard actions than in the van, their weapon is *ce cor à la longue haleine*. Huizinga indeed left no school, but he left the testament of his talents. It is up to cultural historians to dispose of his legacy. We may choose to bury our one talent in the ground (which, heaven knows, is the easiest thing to do with it), but if we do that, we will find our talent taken from us at the judgment and given to that other servant of history who has dared trade with his five talents and come to the judgment with ten. Like all Dutchmen of his generation, Huizinga knew his Bible; he himself came to the judgment with more talents than he had inherited, though he had not doubled his holdings. There is no doubt which course of action he would recommend to us.

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The Crown and the Aristocracy in Renaissance France

J. Russell Major *

THE historian has been so bewitched by the disappearance of the great feudal nobles in France during the early Renaissance that he has frequently lost sight of the fact that it was not the kings, but the aristocracy that profited most by their passing. This aristocracy consisted of three elements: the landed nobility, the upper bureaucracy and judiciary who were often nobility of the robe, and the bourgeois patricians of the towns, some of whom had been ennobled by the municipal offices they held.[1]

This article will deal primarily with the composition, economic position, and organization of the landed nobility, the most important element in the aristocracy. The landed nobility must be divided into a greater nobility and a lesser nobility. Some of the great nobles were from ancient families; others were new men who had been recently advanced by royal favor, for between 1515 and 1600 twenty-eight new peerages were created. Lesser titles were handed out with even greater generosity; Henry III alone erected fifty-five counties, marquisates, duchies, and principalities.[2] These great nobles were the true successors of the feudal dukes, for the governors who were sent to administer the duchies that had escheated to the crown were chosen from their ranks. These governors exercised, or sought to exercise, nearly every nonjudicial prerogative of the king. Thus, when Burgundy escheated to the crown, the king did not personally assume the duties of the former dukes; nor was centralized control established from Paris. Rather the provincial customs and institutions were left much as they were with a parlement replacing the feudal court and a governor the former dukes. Around these governors and other great nobles new centers of power emerged in every province, as will be indicated shortly.[3]

* A professor at Emory University, Mr. Major is the author of *The Deputies to the Estates General of Renaissance France* (Madison, Wis., 1960). He read this paper before a meeting of the American Historical Association at Chicago in December 1962.

[1] Jean-R. Bloch, *L'Anoblissement en France au temps de François I^er^* (Paris, 1934), esp. 11–123.

[2] Roger Doucet, *Les Institutions de la France au XVI^e^ siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1948), II, 462–63.

[3] J. Russell Major, *Representative Institutions in Renaissance France, 1421–1559* (Madison, Wis., 1960), 5–7. If the governor was frequently absent, his lieutenant generally assumed the leading role in the province.

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The lesser nobles consisted of the old seigneurial nobility and a new nobility composed of nobles of the robe and the bourgeois—patricians of the towns or their immediate descendants who had purchased fiefs. Some historians have looked upon this movement from the town to the countryside as marking the growing ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. This is a grave error. Between the years 1000 and 1300 thousands of the most enterprising serfs flocked to the towns where many prospered, but one does not speak of this phenomenon as marking the rise of serfdom; it is correctly referred to as the rise of the towns. One does not insist that the serfs brought with them a "serf mentality" that pervaded the towns for centuries, or that they revolutionized urban economic activities by applying to them their knowledge of agricultural techniques. Is it not probable, then, that when many of the ablest and most successful burghers decided to move to the country and live as nobles during the Renaissance, they strengthened the landed nobility, that they adopted the mental attitudes of the class they were joining, and that their urban knowledge had a limited influence on agricultural practices?

It is true that the bourgeois purchaser of a fief was not immediately welcomed by his new neighbors. It was especially galling to a noble with an established family position to learn that he had become the vassal of an overrich merchant; at the Estates-General of 1614 the deputies of the nobility asked that nobles be excused from rendering homage in person to non-nobles who had purchased fiefs.[4] But the fact that the newcomer's nobility was challenged made it all the more necessary for him to abandon his bourgeois ways and live nobly in every respect. When Molière wanted to amuse the court of Louis XIV by satirizing the bourgeois gentleman, he did not depict him as the hardheaded, grasping businessman who was seeking to change rural society and rural economic practices; rather he created Monsieur Jourdain. Indeed, if the newcomers from the town had not been accepted sooner or later by the old nobility, the ranks of the second estate would have been very thin, for the number of families in Burgundy, and presumably in the other provinces, who during the Wars of Religion could trace their gentility back before the Hundred Years' War was small, and some of them had intermarried at one time or another with the bourgeoisie.[5]

[4] *Recueil des cahiers généraux des trois ordres aux États généraux* [hereafter cited as *Cahiers*], ed. Lalourcé and Duval (4 vols., Paris, 1789), IV, 193. For an example of trouble on this score, see Lucien Romier, *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis* (2d ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1922), I, 182–83.

[5] On ennoblement by prescription, see Bloch, *Anoblissement en France*, esp. 54–56. Historians who have studied the genealogies of noble families emphasize social mobility in the Renaissance. (See, e.g., Henri Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne* [2 vols., Paris, 1937], I, 30–33;

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If one concedes that these newcomers must be considered part of the landed nobility, it becomes highly probable that this class was improving its economic position. It may be true that prices rose more rapidly in the sixteenth century than income from some landed estates, that some nobles were recklessly extravagant, and that others weakened their families by leaving part of their estates to younger sons, but it is also a fact that when a nobleman had to sell a fief, a purchaser, generally from the towns, was thereby enabled, sooner or later, to join the ranks of the landed aristocracy. Furthermore, the income per acre from land grew considerably,[6] and the aristocracy as a whole increased the size of its holdings. In this it was greatly aided by the enforced sale of a large part of the lands of the Church during the reigns of Charles IX and Henry III,[7] a little-known event that may have been nearly as significant as the sale of monastic lands in England. Income from Church lands that were not sold also found its way into the hands of the aristocracy as this class held nearly every bishopric and abbey in the kingdom. Even a dour Calvinist like the Duke of Sully drew about 45,000 livres per year from the abbeys he held in commendam.[8] Of importance also was the purchase by nobles of many peasant holdings.[9]

That it was possible for a noble to be frugal when the occasion demanded and to increase his income during the inflationary period of the Renaissance may be easily illustrated. The Count of Nevers, for example, reduced the size of his household in January 1468 because of heavy debts incurred by

Roland Mousnier, *La Vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* [Rouen, 1945], 58–63, 506–41; Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à lépoque de Philippe II* [Paris, 1949], 619–24; Pierre Goubert, *Familles marchandes sous l'ancien régime: Les Danse et les Motte, de Beauvais* [Paris, 1959], 16–19, 79–85, 131–37; Raoul Busquet, *Études sur l'ancienne Provence, institutions et points d'histoire* [Paris, 1930], 320–26; and J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General of Renaissance France* [Madison, Wis., 1960], 147.) Édouard Perroy has found that of 215 noble families in Forez in the thirteenth century only 5 survived until the Revolution. He estimated that the average duration of a noble line was from three to six generations. There would, therefore, have been virtually no nobility if newcomers had not eventually been accepted into its ranks. (See his "Social Mobility among the French Noblesse in the Later Middle Ages," *Past and Present,* XXI [Apr. 1962], 31.) Claude de Seyssel, the leading theorist of the French Renaissance monarchy, recognized the existence of and the need for the practice of elevating members of the Third Estate to the nobility. (See *La Monarchie de France,* ed. Jacques Poujol [Paris, 1961], 125.)

[6] J. Russell Major, "The French Renaissance Monarchy as Seen through the Estates General," *Studies in the Renaissance,* IX (1962), 121; Braudel, *Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen,* 624–37; Pierre Goubert, "The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century," *Past and Present,* X (Nov. 1956), 72.

[7] Victor Carrière, *Introduction aux études d'histoire ecclésiastique locale* (3 vols., Paris, 1934–40), III, 423–26; Ivan Cloulas, "Les Aliénations du temporel ecclésiastique sous Charles IX et Henri III (1563–1587)," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France,* XLIV (1958), 5–56.

[8] Henri Carré, *Sully* (Paris, 1932), 356.

[9] Pierre Cavard, *La Réforme et les guerres de religion à Vienne* (Vienna, 1950), 392–98; Louis Merle, *Le Métaire et l'évolution agraire de la Gâtine poitevine de la fin du moyen âge à la révolution* (Paris, 1958), esp. 49–95.

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war, the provision of a dowry for his sister, and other extraordinary expenses. Later, during the inflationary period, the dukes of Nevers managed to increase their income from 115,085 livres in 1551 to 466,260 livres in 1612. Hard times followed, and by 1626 the ducal income had been reduced to 319,260 livres, but expenses had been correspondingly cut to 311,373 livres. The ducal debt in 1625 amounted to only 91,000 livres, or about 30 per cent of the annual revenue.[10] Whether the dukes of Nevers were the exception or the rule will not be known for sure until there are many studies of the finances of noble families—a type of research apparently nonexistent in France today—[11] but numerous Renaissance châteaux throughout the country suggest that on the whole the income of the landed nobility, including the newcomers to its ranks from the towns, was on the increase, and that there were sufficient funds available for an aggressive policy.[12]

The structure and organization of the landed nobility cannot be adequately described until much more research is done, but two facts seem clear. First, the feudal system was still important and enhanced the power and prestige of the great nobles. The archives of the dukes of Nevers contained literally thousands of documents on the homage rendered them by their vassals throughout the Renaissance.[13] In their correspondence nobles constantly alluded to the lord-vassal relation. In 1583 one woman who had inherited two fiefs wrote the La Trémoïlles for permission to render liege homage by procuration, and another woman requested permission to mortgage three baronies. Other letters explain delays in rendering homage.[14] In 1572 young Henry of Navarre told his vassals to be ready to accompany him to La Rochelle and in 1580 informed a supporter that he was dispatching a nobleman "with fifteen or twenty of my gentlemen to help you make

[10] *Inventaire des titres de Nevers de l'Abbé de Marolles,* ed. Jacques Soultrait (Nevers, 1873), cols. 577–78, 528–29, 531. The Duke of Nevers was able to lend Henry III 100,000 livres in 1576 and 400,000 livres more in 1578. (*Ibid.,* cols. 524–25.)

[11] French historians have written many superb economic and social histories since World War II, but these histories deal with selected geographical areas, not noble families. There is also need for works comparable to John M. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416–1537* (London, 1958); Alan Simpson, *The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540–1660: East Anglian Studies* (Chicago, 1961); and Mary E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540–1640* (Oxford, Eng., 1955).

[12] For example, a study of the construction and alteration of thirty-two châteaux in the Oise Department reveals that twenty-four were built or restored in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but only two during the period of economic decadence between 1643 and 1715. (Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* [Paris, 1960], 534.)

[13] *Inventaire . . . de Nevers,* ed. Soultrait, esp. cols. 52–379. The documents are now lost. Other sources are too numerous to cite. Doucet agrees that the lord-vassal relation was widespread, but argues that it was declining. More likely it was being slowly replaced by the "new feudalism." (See *Institutions de la France,* II, 458, 468–74, and for archival sources, II, 487.)

[14] *Lettres missives originales du seizième siècle tirées des archives du duc de La Trémoïlle,* ed. Paul A. Marchegay (Niort, 1881), Nos. 193, 194, 205, 252.

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war. . . ."[15] The households of the dukes of Nevers were made up largely of their vassals, who were also to be found among those who commanded their towns and châteaux.[16]

Second, the old feudal system was complemented during the Renaissance by a patron-client relation, a system comparable with what the English have called the "new feudalism" or, less elegantly, "bastard feudalism." The "new feudalism" differed from the old in that the client did not render homage to the patron and the patron did not provide the client with a fief or in most instances with specified money payments at regular intervals. It was similar to the old feudalism in that it was an honorable relation based on mutual loyalty and interests. Under the "new feudalism" members of the lesser nobility, ambitious for advancement, often entered the service of a great lord. They might begin with minor posts in the lord's household or as men-at-arms in his *compagnie d'ordonnance,* but if they proved able and loyal they could aspire to important household positions, the captaincy of châteaux, or, through the favor of their patron, positions at court or in the royal bureaucracy. Other nobles preferred to reside at home, but dispatched their sons to their patron's château to serve as pages and to receive modest educations. The patron in return would either provide for the pages when they reached manhood or use his influence with the king to get them positions. When a patron summoned his clients to accompany him into battle, on a journey to court, or for some other service, he expected them to come clad in his livery, or at least his device, and with a suitable number of followers, depending on their rank. If a client got into trouble with the law, the patron was expected to use every means possible to prevent his being punished.[17]

Historians have generally assumed that this system was not formalized by a special oath or indenture,[18] but this view is incorrect, although further

[15] *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV,* ed. Berger de Xivrey (9 vols., Paris, 1843–76), III, 48–49, 311.

[16] Lists of the members of the ducal household in 1476 have been published in *Inventaire . . . de Nevers,* ed. Soultrait, cols. 47–48. Jean de la Rivière, Antoine d'Avril, Hector Berthelon, and Étienne du Pontot were captains of towns and châteaux and holders of fiefs in the duchy. (*Ibid.,* cols. 414–15, 757; fiefs in the duchy are listed *ibid.,* cols. 795–874.)

[17] The patron-client system, or the "new feudalism," has never really been studied in France, but see the brief remarks in Romier, *Royaume de Catherine de Médicis,* I, 167–68, 208–22. For an account of Cardinal Richelieu's relation to his pages, see Maximin Deloche, *La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, 1912), 327–62.

[18] See, e.g., Édouard Perroy, "Feudalism or Principalities in Fifteenth Century France," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* XX (1943–45), 181. Bryce D. Lyon recognized the existence of contracts in France that were identical to the English indentures except that there was no retaining fee, but he apparently saw them as being of purely military significance. (Bryce Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture: The Transition from Feudal to Non-Feudal Contract in Western Europe* [Cambridge, Mass., 1957], 255–58.) However, retaining fees were paid

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research will be necessary before it is known whether indentures were common or were only used occasionally. On April 8, 1429, for example, Gilles de Rais took a written oath to serve his powerful cousin, Georges de La Trémoïlle, against all seigneurs and other persons without exception until death.[19] No specific mention was made in this indenture of De Rais's obligation to bring his retainers with him in case of war or of La Trémoïlle's obligation to reward him for his services. These matters seem to have been clearly understood, however, for De Rais served his lord faithfully, and La Trémoïlle won for his twenty-three-year-old client the post of marshal of France three months after the indenture was signed. As this indenture was made just before the dawn of the French Renaissance, it would be well to cite another, dated near the end of this period.

> We, duke of Rohan, promise to the queen mother on our honor to serve and defend her at the risk of our life . . . in whatever she will judge suitable to guarantee the king and his estate from the ruin which threatens them, binding ourselves from this hour never to leave the service of her majesty, but to follow her wishes in all things; her majesty having also promised us on the word of a queen to guarantee us from the evil that some will want to visit upon us in consideration of the above. Given at Angers, the 30th of May, 1620.
>
> Henry de Rohan[20]

A rebellion, of course, followed.

Thus a "new feudalism" based on the ties of mutual loyalty between patron and client had come into being by the dawn of the Renaissance and continued to thrive well into the seventeenth century. In some respects it was more dangerous to the crown than the old feudalism because under the old feudalism the lord was limited in the number of his vassals by the

in France in the late Middle Ages, and indentures were often used for nonmilitary purposes. (B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Les pensionnaires fieffés des ducs de Bourgogne de 1352 à 1419," *Mémoires de la société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands*, VIII [1942], 127–50; André Leguai, *Les Ducs de Bourbon pendant la crise monarchique du* xv^e^ *siècle* [Paris, 1962], 35.) It is difficult to study indentures in France without thorough archival research because in their publications French historians generally refer to any sort of contract between two nobles as a "treaty of alliance." Thus Leguai published an indenture and a treaty between two equals without drawing any distinctions between them. (*Ibid.*, 195–96, 201–202.) Historians of the Renaissance frequently refer to treaties between nobles, especially during periods of rebellion, and to one noble entering the service of another, but the actual contracts, if any, have almost never been published. Further research is badly needed on this problem, but it is my impression that indentures were used without retainer fees in Renaissance France much as William H. Dunham, Jr., describes them in England. (See his *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1463–1483* [New Haven, Conn., 1955]. For the contribution of the *fief-rente* to the theory of *rentes*, see Bernard Schnapper, *Les Rentes au* xvi^e^ *siècle* [Paris, 1957], esp. 43–44.)

[19] *Les La Trémoïlle pendant cinq siècles*, ed. Louis, duc de La Trémoïlle (5 vols., Nantes, 1890–96), I, 183. On this relationship, see also *ibid.*, 202–203, 226–29.

[20] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, mémoires et documents, France, MS. 773, fol. 49.

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number of his fiefs, or if the money fief be included, by the size of his treasury. Under the "new feudalism" neither fiefs nor specific payments were required, and the number of clients a lord had was limited only by his prestige, influence, and the popularity of his cause. When Condé raised his standard of rebellion at Orléans in the spring of 1562, the nobles who answered his summons were, with a few exceptions, not his vassals, but they named him as their chief and took an oath not only to obey him, but also "to hold ourselves in readiness as far as we are able in money, arms, horses, and other required things, . . . to accompany him wherever he commands, and to render him faithful service. . . ."[21] This document, which might be called a collective indenture, tied Protestant and other disaffected nobles to Condé and ushered in the Wars of Religion.

Most clients rendered faithful service to their patrons, and most patrons reciprocated by looking after their clients' interests, even to the extent of defending them from the king's justice. When in 1615 a seigneur of Marsillac violated the code and abandoned Condé's service to assume that of the Queen Mother, the angered prince told the sieur de Rochefort to punish him. Marsillac was beaten nearly to death, but the Queen Mother, highly incensed at the treatment meted out to her new retainer, demanded Rochefort's head. A bitter quarrel ensued between Condé and the Queen Mother in the presence of the King. The haughty Prince, while hiding Rochefort from justice, even had the effrontery to present his case against Marsillac to the parlement of Paris. Here he won some support, to the anger of the Queen Mother, but on Marsillac's recovery an apparent reconciliation between the two patrons was achieved. Rochefort continued in Condé's service, and the following year the young Prince got the King to give him the post of councilor of state and a gift of 36,000 livres.[22]

François de Bonne, duc de Lesdiguières, governor of Dauphiné, was willing to go to equal lengths to protect his clients from justice. He had established Marie Vignon, the wife of a silk merchant of Grenoble, as his mistress. This woman, not content with her role, conspired with a Savoyard colonel temporarily in Lesdiguières service to have her husband murdered.

[21] Jules Delaborde, *Gaspard de Coligny, amiral de France* (3 vols., Paris, 1879–82), II, 70–74.

[22] Henri, duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des princes de Condé* (7 vols., Paris, 1863–96), III, 42–45; *Négociations, lettres et pièces relatives à la conférence de Loudun*, ed. Louis Bouchitté (Paris, 1862), 788–89, 799. This post of councilor of state is perhaps a basis for Aumale's statement that Rochefort entered the King's service after this incident. (Aumale, *Princes de Condé*, III, 45.) More likely it was another case of a great noble's winning advancement for his clients. Note that two other clients of Condé were named councilors at the same time. (*Négociations*, ed. Bouchitté, 788.)

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The deed was done, but the parlement of Grenoble mustered the courage to imprison the colonel. Furious at this affront the old duke returned to Grenoble and released his client, despite the concierge's argument that only an order from parlement could set the prisoner free. When the president of parlement protested, Lesdiguières sharply rebuked him for ordering the arrest without consulting him. In the end the colonel went free, and the powerful governor, instead of being punished by the king in council, was given a royal letter approving his conduct and a pension for his mistress. Two years later in 1617 Marie Vignon, plebeian-born widow of a silk merchant, achieved her ultimate goal of becoming the wife of Lesdiguières, marshal, duke, peer, and later constable of France.[23]

The above incidents were perhaps exceptional, but it is clear that the behavior of the great nobles' retainers was an object of concern to many. Special patrols had to be established at Tours in 1468 and 1484 during the meetings of the Estates-General with orders to arrest all unruly persons including the people of the princes and the king.[24] In the Estates-Generals of 1560, 1576, 1588, and 1614 the Third Estate included in its *cahiers* protests against the practice of gentlemen protecting from punishment those in their retinue who had committed misdeeds.[25] Royal ordonnances frequently forbade anyone to interfere with magistrates in the execution of justice, but to no avail. In the great ordonnance of 1629, near the end of the Renaissance, the crown had once more to prohibit nobles from protecting those wanted for crimes.[26]

Whatever the evils of the system from the point of view of the Third Estate, it had distinct advantages for the great nobles because it enhanced their prestige to have a large number of gentlemen in their service, and it gave them military power. Some nobles such as the Nevers and the La Trémoïlles relied primarily on their role as feudal lords supplemented by their positions as royal governors or lieutenant generals. As governors of Nivernais, the Nevers added the authority of the king to the wide powers they already wielded as dukes, and neither the inhabitants of the enclaves in the duchy nor the clergy could escape their authority. They owned and controlled a large number of castles and fortified towns which they gar-

[23] Charles Dufayard, *Le Connétable de Lesdiguières* (Paris, 1892), 375–79; Louis Videl, *Histoire de la vie du connestable de Lesdiguières* (Paris, 1638), 260–61, 297–99.

[24] Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, 144.

[25] *Cahiers*, ed. Lalourcé and Duval, I, 324, II, 303–304, III, 224, IV, 311–12, 319, 322.

[26] *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, ed. François-A. Isambert *et al.* (29 vols., Paris, 1822–33), XVI, 272. For references to other ordonnances against maintenance, see Philibert Bugnyon, *Commentaires sur les ordonnances de Blois estables aux Estats generaux convoquez en la ville de Blois* (Lyon, 1584), 297–307.

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risoned with captains and soldiers of their choice. In addition, they had a guard of archers and between 1615 and 1616 even a Swiss guard.[27] The La Trémoïlles, frequently lieutenant generals in Poitou and the surrounding provinces, were in an almost comparable position. In 1487 they had at least twenty-seven fortified towns and castles captained by their retainers, and in 1595 they raised from their lands five hundred gentlemen and two thousand foot soldiers at their own expense.[28] Other nobles such as the Montmorencys in Languedoc or the Guises in Burgundy used their posts as governors to establish large clienteles. Neither family owned a significant amount of land or had many vassals in their governments; thus it was necessary for them to rely on the techniques of the "new feudalism" to establish their position. Neither exercised powers as complete as the Nevers did in Nivernais, but the Guises drew strong support from Burgundy during the Wars of Religion. The biographer of one Montmorency has called him "the uncrowned king of southern France," and the provincial estates of Languedoc followed another Montmorency into rebellion in 1632.[29]

Cardinal Richelieu took advantage of his position as chief of the royal council to create a military establishment that consisted of a company of horse guards and a company of musketeers. Like the other great nobles, he insisted on personal fidelity. His intimate adviser, Father Joseph, is reported to have said that the cardinal wants "officers who will be faithful to him and only to him without exception and without reservation. He does not want those who serve two masters knowing full well he would not find fidelity in them. It is so rare to find men of this character that if it were necessary to buy them the Cardinal would pay their weight in gold."[30] That Richelieu found those who would serve him loyally even at the cost of incurring the hatred of the king's musketeers is well known to all readers of the romances of Alexander Dumas.

The situation would have been dangerous enough to the crown if the governors and other great nobles had drawn their clients entirely from the landed nobility, but they did not, and the "new feudalism" spread into the army, the judicial and administrative bureaucracy, and even into the towns. The much-vaunted army created by Charles VII was officered by the great nobles; even the mounted men-at-arms were generally of noble birth. Under

[27] L. Despois, *Histoire de l'autorité royale dans le comté de Nivernais* (Paris, 1912), 229–40.
[28] La Trémoïlle, *Les La Trémoïlle*, II, 108–10, IV, v; Charles Samaran, *Le Chartrier des La Trémoïlle* (Paris, 1930), 26.
[29] Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne*, esp. I, 102–19; Paul Gachon, *Les États de Languedoc et l'édit de Béziers, 1632* (Paris, 1887), esp. 87–91, 225–49; Franklin C. Palm, *Politics and Religion in Sixteenth-Century France* (Boston, 1927), 125–56.
[30] Deloche, *Maison de Cardinal de Richelieu*, 370.

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such circumstances it is nearly certain that the great nobles assigned key subordinate positions in their companies to their vassals and clients and that the ambitious unattached noble in such a company soon found it advisable to adopt his commander as his patron. One is therefore not surprised to find that in the 1550's the lieutenant and the ensign in the Duke of Nevers' company were his vassals, and the guidon was a gentleman in his household.[31] The Duke of Mayenne had many clients in his company in Burgundy.[32] This situation led the great nobles to consider the royal troops they commanded as their own. These troops, although paid from taxes levied on orders from the king, wore the livery or device of their commander, and his colors became the company standard. Royal ordonnances encouraged this practice because in an age before uniforms it provided the best means to identify troops in battle and to place the blame on those who pillaged.[33] The primary loyalty of these troops was generally to their commanders whom they followed into revolt in many instances throughout the Renaissance. The king's army really consisted of the companies of such nobles as could be persuaded to support him, plus some hired mercenaries. Perhaps it was the unreliable nature of these French troops that caused the monarchs to entrust their personal safety primarily to Swiss and Scottish guards.

The great nobles exercised considerable influence over the appointment and behavior of royal officials in their fiefs. The dukes of Nevers had the right to name all royal officials in their territories, and when offices were made hereditary in 1604 in return for an annual fee, it was the dukes, not the king, who got the payments.[34] The counts of Laval had the privilege of naming royal officials in their lands,[35] as did some other important nobles. Governors were often able to win support from the royal judicial and administrative officials in their province, especially during the Wars of Religion, and their clients included town officials and leading ecclesiastics.[36]

[31] The lieutenant was the sieur de Givry; the ensign, the sieur d'Espeuilles; and the guidon, the sieur de Saint-Simon. (François de Rabutin, *Commentaires des guerres en la gaule belgique. Société de l'histoire de France,* ed. Charles Gailly de Taurines [2 vols., Paris, 1932–44], II, 123, 281.) One also notes that Gilbert de Chevenon who held the fief of Saint-Amand from Nevers joined the company as a man-at-arms (*ibid.,* I, 115–16) and that another vassal, La Brosse, was a member (*ibid.,* II, 147). Many other names could doubtless be added if a roster of the company were available. For an example of the intermixing of the gentlemen of the household with the company, see *ibid.,* I, 172–76.

[32] Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne,* I, 112–13.

[33] Gaston Zeller, *Les Institutions de la France au* XVI^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1948), 310–11.

[34] Despois, *Autorité royale,* 273–76, 483–86. For a general account of the influence of the great nobles on the appointment of royal officials, see Mousnier, *Vénalité des offices,* 287–311.

[35] La Trémoïlle, *Les La Trémoïlle,* IV, 117–19.

[36] On the role of the governors, see esp. Gaston Zeller, "Gouverneurs de provinces au XVI^e^ siècle," *Revue historique,* CLXXXV (Jan.–June 1939), 225–56; Doucet, *Institutions de la France,* I, 229–44; and Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne,* esp. I, 73–77, 102–19, 293–313.

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Great nobles also managed to place their clients in the judicial and administrative chambers of the central government. The practice was common by the time of Charles VI[37] and was continued by the nobility to the best of its ability in succeeding reigns. In 1540 one finds a vassal of the Duke of Nevers serving in the king's household.[38] Condé counted a president of the parlement of Paris among his loyal supporters during the minority of Louis XIII and got three of his followers named councilors of state in return for halting his rebellion in 1616.[39] The Duke of Rohan used his influence to get the governor of a town appointed to the king's household in 1617 and in 1620 sought to capitalize on this favor by having Marie de Médicis, his own patron, commission this old soldier to raise a regiment to aid in their rebellion.[40] The Guises were especially successful in the art of placement during the Wars of Religion. Indeed so great was the danger of the nobles penetrating into the government by getting appointments for their clients that the Duke of Sully later informed Cardinal Richelieu that the reason Henry IV made officeholding hereditary was to weaken the influence of the great nobles in the bureaucracy.[41]

One should not assume from the above that the great nobles exercised an all-powerful influence over the lesser members of the aristocracy. Often the reverse was more nearly true, a fact that can be best illustrated by a brief inspection of the relationship between the governors and the provincial estates. These estates, controlled as they were by the upper clergy, the nobility, and bourgeois patricians of the towns, regarded the governor as their agent at court. If they wanted a reduction in taxes, the suppression of newly created offices, or any other concession, they asked their governor to intercede with the king on their behalf. This the governor invariably did because the taxes to pay his salary and that of his military companies and guards were voted and generally collected by the provincial estates. A governor who was successful in winning special favors could expect further rewards. Thus in addition to voting Montmorency and members of his family their usual salaries and gifts, the estates of Languedoc in 1620 granted

The ambitions of the great nobles are indicated by the peace terms Mayenne suggested to Henry IV in 1594. (*Ibid.*, II, 362–63.) Indeed, governors became so powerful during the Wars of Religion that the Estates-General protested in 1588 and 1614. (*Cahiers*, ed. Lalourcé and Duval, III, 53, 140–41, IV, 200–201, 309–11.)

[37] Perroy, "Feudalism or Principalities," 181–85.

[38] *Inventaire . . . de Nevers*, ed. Soultrait, col. 54.

[39] Aumale, *Princes de Condé*, III, 53, 69; *Négociations*, ed. Bouchitté, 788.

[40] "Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin," *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), 349–54, 361–63.

[41] Mousnier, *Vénalité des offices*, esp. 63–66, 287–311; Cardinal Richelieu, *Testament politique*, ed. Louis André (Paris, 1947), 233–34.

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him 30,000 livres in consideration of his extraordinary expenses, 132,000 livres to reimburse him for the cost of his troops used to suppress a recent uprising, and 10,800 livres for "his great services." The same assembly flatly rejected one royal request for 25,000 livres for five years to repair the bridge at Avignon and refused to do more than to promise to consider at their next meeting a second request for 400,000 livres.[42] Small wonder Cardinal Richelieu complained that the authority of the king was scarcely known in Languedoc.[43]

On the other hand, the ineffectual Duke of Guise enjoyed so little credit at court and in his government of Provence that the estates did not vote his salary or taxes to support his two companies in 1629 or 1630.[44] So important was it to have a governor with influence that in 1630 the three estates of Brittany petitioned the King to name Richelieu their governor, and a few years later Provence asked for his demented brother.[45]

The aristocracy sought to influence the crown through other officials. Royal commissioners sent to negotiate with the provincial estates invariably received payment, and the Secretaries of State, those confidential advisers of the king who dealt with the various provinces, were not neglected. The same assembly of the estates of Languedoc as cited above voted 1,500 livres for the King's Secretary of State who handled the affairs of the province and 300 for his assistant.[46] In 1599 the three estates of Comminges received a letter from their deputy requesting money for distribution at court to

[42] Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD], Hérault, procès-verbal of the estates of Béziers, May–June 1620. The 10,800 livres voted Montmorency were actually for his *ustinsiles des étrangers,* a company that the estates knew no longer existed. Other examples of gifts by the estates to governors are: Provence to Guise in 1601, 15,000 livres for his services (AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 9, fol. 20–20v); Burgundy to Biron in 1602, 10,000 *écus* in addition to his regular salary "in recognition of the favors and good offices he had rendered the province" at court (AD, Côte-d'Or, C 3016, fol. 465); Dauphiné to Lesdiguières in 1621, 18,000 livres and to his son-in-law, 6,000 (AD, Isère, I C 4, No. 45). Condé was fortunate enough to be assigned the task of negotiation with the estates of Burgundy and Provence in 1631 concerning the abolition of the *élus.* For his services he was voted 100,000 livres by the estates of both provinces. (AD, Côte-d'Or, C 3080, fol. 2v; AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 16, fols. 127v–128.) Provence also voted the two intendants 5,000 livres each. (AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 16, fol. 127v–128.)

[43] *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu: Société de l'histoire de France,* ed. Robert Lavollée (10 vols., Paris, 1907–31), IX, 302.

[44] AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 16, fols. 66v–67, 127v–28v. In 1631 when the estates were in a desperate position Guise was voted 100,000 livres. (*Ibid.,* fol. 128v.)

[45] Louis, Comte de Carné, *Les États de Bretagne* (2d ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1875), I, 288; AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 108, fols. 105v–107.

[46] AD, Hérault, procès-verbal of May–June 1620. The estates of Provence voted the Secretary of State in charge of its affairs 800 *écus* in 1611 and his assistant, 200 *écus,* because of the importance of the affairs of the province being considered at court. (AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 10, fol. 263v.) The same amount was voted in 1612 and smaller sums thereafter. (*Ibid.,* fols. 336v, 404v; C 12, fols. 17, 51, 237, 281v, 354v–355; C 15, fol. 145v; C 16, fol. 96.) The estates of Burgundy voted the Secretary of State in charge of its affairs 15,000 livres in 1631. (AD, Côte-d'Or, C 3080, fol. 2v.)

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ensure the preservation of their liberties, 1,000 *écus* being earmarked for Michel de Marillac who was already earning his reputation as an enemy of provincial liberties.[47] Secretaries and valets of important persons were sometimes remembered[48]; even the lowly historian did not escape notice. When the estates of Languedoc learned that the royal historiographer was planning to write a description of their province, they voted him 100 *écus* and promised him an additional sum if his book upon completion was found to be "useful." Enough mention was made of the privileges of the province at this point in the journal of the estates to leave no doubt in the mind of the most naïve member of our profession what kind of a book would be considered "useful."[49] Thus in Renaissance France the provincial estates levied taxes to pay royal officials to convince the king that they were unable to pay the taxes he requested and that their respective provinces had privileges that must not be overridden.

During the Renaissance about one-third of France did not have provincial estates that met periodically. In these provinces the landed nobility appears to have put direct pressure on its governors and patrons. The great noble who could not obtain enough concessions from the crown for his clients was faced with a choice of losing his influence over them or of revolting in the hope that the crown would purchase his submission. Thus, by rebelling, the Duke of Nevers increased his income from 401,003 livres in 1616 to 806,776 in 1617, but at the same time his expenses jumped from 400,345 to 808,520 livres, strong circumstantial evidence that the real winners of the revolt were his followers.[50]

The situation described above provides the basis for the contention that throughout the Renaissance the most powerful class was the landed nobility, just as it had been during the Middle Ages. This does not mean, however, that kings were necessarily ineffective. Just as the medieval king was the principal lord in the kingdom, so the Renaissance monarch was the greatest patron. The former governed with the cooperation of his vassals, the latter with the cooperation of his clients. To ensure this cooperation the king had at his disposal the highest offices of the Church, government positions, military commands, patents of nobility, and nearly every type of privilege. The great noble who wanted these things for himself or his clients usually found

[47] AD, Haute-Garonne, C 3676, Nos. 53–54.

[48] The estates of Provence frequently voted their governors' secretaries and servants money. (AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 10, fol. 404v; C 12, fols. 114, 236v, 277v–278, 354v–355.) The estates of Burgundy voted its governor's secretary 600 livres in 1605. (AD, Côte-d'Or, C 3017, fols. 37v–38v.)

[49] AD, Hérault, procès-verbal of the estates of Pézanas, Dec. 1597–Jan. 1598.

[50] *Inventaire . . . de Nevers*, ed. Soultrait, col. 528.

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faithful service the surest path to success. To make doubly certain, the king distributed pensions and the right to certain royal taxes on an annual basis to the great nobles. Thus royal control over the nobility was based largely on a vast patronage. The king who administered it wisely and fairly could hope for enough cooperation from the great nobles and their clients to make the system work. But if the king was a minor or was weak and the control of the royal patronage fell into the hands of a faction, those nobles who were excluded revolted.[51] There was no exception to this rule during the Renaissance.

The Wars of Religion made the dangers of the "new feudalism" all too clear to the crown, and beginning with the reign of Henry IV serious attempts were made to mitigate its effect. The first step was to free the bureaucracy from the influence of the great nobles. This was accomplished in 1604 by making officeholding hereditary in return for the payment of an annual fee. Eventually this enabled royal officials to become as independent of the crown as of the nobility, but so long as the right to have hereditary offices was challenged by other elements of the Renaissance aristocracy, the bureaucracy stood loyally by the crown except when the crown curtailed or threatened to curtail its privileges.[52]

The second step was to get control of the tax-collecting machinery so that the provincial estates would no longer be in a position to reward or punish royal officials. Henry IV began to move in this direction in 1603 when he issued an edict substituting royal tax collectors for those of the local estates in Guienne. This attempt had to be abandoned in 1611 during the regency of Marie de Médicis, but was renewed in Guienne in 1621 and elsewhere between 1628 and 1632. In some provinces the result was the abandonment of the provincial estates and the appointment of obedient royal tax officials; in others the provincial estates were allowed to continue to exist under careful scrutiny from the crown and with sharply curtailed taxing privileges.[53]

[51] On the use the king made of the great nobles to control the lesser nobles, see Romier, *Royaume de Catherine de Médicis*, I, 208–10; on the award of pensions, see Mousnier, *Vénalité des offices*, 407–409. I do not believe that either the army or the bureaucracy added much to the king's strength because both contained many persons who were loyal to the great nobles, and both were quite small by modern standards. (See Major, "French Renaissance Monarchy," 117–19.) It is true the size of the bureaucracy increased during the Renaissance, but this increase was caused as much by the desire to raise money through the sale of offices as by the desire to increase royal power. This is illustrated by the practice of having officials take turns performing the same duties. (Zeller, *Institutions de la France*, 138–40; Mousnier, *Vénalité des offices*, 25–28.)

[52] For an explanation of how the *droit annuel* strengthened the crown during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII, see *ibid.*, 557–621.

[53] I am engaged in a study of the decline of the provincial estates during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII and will offer evidence to support this paragraph at a later date.

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The third step was to separate the mass of the Protestants from the great nobles. This was accomplished by persuading most of the great nobles to return to the Catholic fold during the seventeenth century and by the issuance of edicts granting a degree of religious toleration in 1598 and 1629.[54] The fourth step was to substitute intendants for governors as the principal royal officials in the provinces, an action that gradually took place after the middle of the seventeenth century.[55] The fifth step was to establish effective control over a large standing army by Michel Le Tellier and the Marquis de Louvois during the reign of Louis XIV.[56] The final step was to separate the great nobles from the lesser nobles, a process that took place gradually during the seventeenth century and was nearly completed by the creation of the court at Versailles where the great nobles laughed at jokes about the country gentlemen upon whom their power had formerly rested. In this manner, the "new feudalism" of the Renaissance became as much a part of the past as the "old."[57]

[54] The Edict of Nantes (1598) and the Edict of Alais (1629). By his abjuration Henry IV had already won the support of most Catholics.

[55] Roland Mousnier, "État et Commissaire: Recherches sur la création des intendants de province, 1634–1648," *Forschungen zur Staat und Verfassung: Festgabe für Fritz Hartung* (Berlin, 1958), 325–44. His recent "Note sur les rapports entre les gouverneurs de provinces et les intendants dans la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle," *Revue historique*, CCXXVIII (Oct.–Dec. 1962), 339–50, indicates that the intendants were at first only the advisers and assistants of the governors. They did not supplant the governors in the provinces during the first half of the seventeenth century as was formerly thought.

[56] Louis André, *Michel Le Tellier et Louvois* (Paris, 1942), 277–427.

[57] The efforts of the crown to halt the practice of dueling and to demolish fortified châteaux have often been cited as weakening the nobility. Edicts against dueling, however, were designed to preserve the nobility, not to destroy it, and in the Estates-General of 1588 the nobles themselves asked that the death penalty be imposed on duelists. (*Cahiers*, ed. Lalourcé and Duval, III, 143.) Most nobles evidently did not regard the château-fort as a necessary ingredient for their power because from the dawn of the sixteenth century they generally preferred to build their châteaux in the more comfortable Renaissance style. During the rebellions between 1562 and 1629 many of the surviving château-forts as well as some recently fortified places fell into the hands of Protestants or lawless persons who resisted local officials and terrorized the countryside. This situation led the deputies of the nobility at the Estates-General of 1588 to ask that owners of fortified places guard them carefully to keep them out of undesirable hands. (*Ibid.*, 143, 148.) The deputies of the clergy and the Third Estate were more vehement and advocated demolition. (*Ibid.*, II, 77, 295–96, 308–309, III, 55, 228, IV, 314–15.) The provincial estates with the concurrence of the nobility often asked that forts be demolished. Thus in 1622 the estates of Béarn asked that all châteaux and other fortified places in Béarn be demolished except those at Pau and Navarrenx. (AD, Basse-Pyrénées, C 708, fols. 303–308.) The estates of Rouergue petitioned the King to destroy fortified places in 1596. (Archives communales, Millau, AA 12.) A similar request came from Provence in 1597 and was repeated many times thereafter. (AD, Bouches-du-Rhône, C 8, fols. 68v, 83v, 151–151v, 188v–189v, etc.) The estates of Burgundy did likewise in 1618, and among those compensated in 1631 for the demolition of a château was Cardinal Richelieu himself. (AD, Côte-d'Or, C 3017, fol. 203–203v; C 3079, fol. 6–7.)

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Sir Edwin Sandys and the Parliament of 1604

THEODORE K. RABB*

FORTY years ago Wallace Notestein published a pioneer essay that offered new insights into early Stuart Parliaments, yet in the interim little attention has been paid to the Parliament of 1604 which, as the very first Stuart assembly, occupied a key place in the winning of the initiative by the House of Commons.[1] Although the session lasted less than sixteen weeks, it developed a disregard for the crown unmatched by any of its predecessors. It marked the end of a lull in opposition during Elizabeth's last years; it destroyed any illusions that might have been created by the early popularity of James;[2] and it witnessed the beginning of a growth of parliamentary demands that was to reach a climax in the 1620's and 1640's. In 1604, too, new men emerged as leaders of opposition to the crown.[3] The most spectacular of these was Sir Edwin Sandys, a docile supporter of royal wishes since the 1580's, but for the remaining twenty years of his parliamentary career in the vanguard of the troublemakers. In this particular session he occupied himself primarily with three issues: the union with Scotland, wardships (and the resultant "Apology"), and free trade. The debates on these issues will be the main concern of this article, for they provide enough material to clarify some important features of the session, and in addition

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[1] Wallace Notestein, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons* (London, 1924). Apart from passing references in more general works, the only full-length treatment of the 1604 session is in W. M. Wallace, *Sir Edwin Sandys and the First Parliament of James I* (Philadelphia, 1940). Wallace's account is primarily narrative and is concerned only slightly with the problems discussed below. His assessment of Sandys's part in the "Apology" is examined in note 51, below.

[2] For Elizabeth's last Parliaments, see Sir John Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584–1601* (London, 1957), 241 ff. He discusses the decline of opposition on pages 241–44 and 325–27. Of the 1593 session he says: "we shall perceive the weakness of the House—if compliance be a weakness—as our story unfolds," and he calls it "the hinge between old and new" (pages 245 and 325). For James's early popularity there is much evidence. Typical of the times was John Chamberlain's remark: "These bountiful beginnings raise all mens spirits and put them in great hopes." (*The Letters of John Chamberlain,* ed. N. E. McClure [2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939], I, 192.) See notes 39 and 52, below.

[3] Among the leaders of "opposition" who will be mentioned below, three were sitting in their first Parliament: Christopher Brooke, Sir John Hollis, and Sir Thomas Ridgeway. Four more, in addition to Sandys, appeared as leading "opposition" men for the first time: Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Henry Neville, Sir William Strode, and Henry Yelverton. The impression these men leave is of a new generation of parliamentary leaders, their experience often gained under Elizabeth, coming to prominence in 1604.

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they help explain the rapid emergence of Sandys to a position of leadership that prefigured and illuminated the activities of men such as Sir Edward Coke, Sir John Eliot, John Hampden, and John Pym.

The character of the session became apparent at the outset. The opening three days provided a classic example of "the failure of Council leadership . . . in the Commons," which Notestein considered the basic reason for the success of the aggressive attitude of the M.P.'s after fifteen relatively peaceful years.[4] The ineptitude of royal guidance was so obvious that James never again allowed his representation to be so small. He showed much more concern about the membership of the House in the many by-elections during the remainder of this Parliament, and at subsequent elections.[5] In the meantime, the M.P.'s exploited their opportunity and gave crown leadership a setback from which it never recovered.

From the start the absence of privy councilors was conspicuous. The clerk of the House noted on the first day that they were too few to provide the full quota of twelve deputies for the Lord Steward in administering the oath: ten of the twelve had to be taken from "Members of the House of other Rank."[6] It also soon became obvious that the two councilors present, Sir John Herbert and Sir John Stanhope, were men of no great ability or standing, and eventually Sir Francis Bacon had to act as the main spokesman for the crown. A significant foretaste of the future was the reaction to the King's recommendation for Speaker, which was met by unprecedented suggestions of other names.[7] Finally, on the third day of the sitting, the revolutionary atmosphere became apparent. On this first day of real debate, after the usual official addresses and standard inquiries into matters of privilege,[8] it was customary for the privy councilors to take their grip on proceedings by outlining what lay ahead. But at the vital juncture no royal spokesman arose to address the House. Instead, Sir Robert Wroth, a well-known Puritan, the last of the Marian exiles in the Commons, and an M.P. who had

[4] Notestein, *Winning of the Initiative*, 27.

[5] Out of the seventy-six by-elections during the 1604–1611 Parliament, eleven were won by leading courtiers or councilors: Sir Julius Caesar, George Calvert, Sir William Cecil, John Corbett, Sir John Egerton, Sir John Fortescue, Theophilus Lord Howard of Walden, Sir James Ley, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Thomas Vavasor, and Sir Richard Weston. For an example of governmental pressure at later elections, in this case that of 1614, see S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–1642* (10 vols., London, 1883–84), II, 228–29.

[6] *The Journals of the House of Commons* [hereafter cited as *CJ*] (117 vols., London, 1803–63), I, 141. The absence of the councilors was deplored even in the "Apology." See *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I, A.D. 1603–1625, with an Historical Commentary*, ed. J. R. Tanner (Cambridge, Eng., 1930), 227.

[7] *CJ*, I, 141.

[8] These inquiries later exploded into the Bucks election case and the quarrel over Sir Thomas Shirley.

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not missed a session in over forty years, rose to speak. If any man represented independence of thought in Parliament, it was Wroth,[9] and he had the seniority to command respect. He now proposed an agenda for the weeks ahead, thus taking the initiative entirely out of crown hands. Of the seven topics he proposed, six became major points of discussion, and, apart from the privilege cases already raised, only one other issue, the union with Scotland, suggested by the King himself three weeks later, received any great attention.[10] Quite simply, an ordinary M.P., and a highly troublesome one at that, had taken control of the session. The House was evidently stunned by his audacity, but rapidly began to follow his suggestions.[11]

The events of these first three days set the tone for the entire session. The mood of slight bewilderment resulting from the crown's lack of strength was never quite dispelled, and M.P.'s more concerned with grievances than royal sensibilities were able to sustain their dominance over procedure. Once they had taken control they imposed their ideas on the House with increasing assurance: clashing bitterly with the King over the Bucks election; attacking wardships, a prerogative discussed only twenty years before with a view to extension;[12] blocking James's pet project, the union; and finally sweeping a majority of the Commons into support of the "Apology."

As the session progressed, the influence of those pursuing grievances in general grew steadily, but in the early days the impetus undoubtedly came from the Puritans. Not only did a Puritan, Wroth, make the first daring move, but throughout the session they did their best to reverse the outcome of the Hampton Court conference, whose failure was the original cause of their aggressive attitude.[13] Their efforts were to be fruitless because they were just not powerful enough a minority and because many of the other leaders of opposition to the crown, such as Sandys, had little sympathy with their religious demands. Yet even James realized the importance of the

[9] Quite apart from Wroth's half-century adherence to the Puritan cause, there is much evidence from Elizabethan Parliaments that he was, to quote Neale, one of the "independent men." (*Elizabeth and Her Parliaments,* 215.) The many references to Wroth (*ibid.,* 215, 279, 288, 304, 380) show him to have been a repeated troublemaker since the 1580's. No M.P. in 1604 could match the length or consistency of his career as a leading Puritan and "opposition" man.

[10] For Wroth's speech, see *CJ,* I, 150–51. Only writs of entry received little attention at this session. Notestein was the first to remark that Wroth's speech represented a decline in council leadership in his *Winning of the Initiative,* 43, n.

[11] *CJ,* I, 151. The silence that followed his speech was the usual reception for an extraordinary turn of events. For another example of such a reaction, see *ibid.,* 166, where a royal message is mentioned as having been received with "some Amazement, and Silence."

[12] Neale, *Elizabeth and Her Parliaments,* 91–92.

[13] The most recent and convincing interpretation of the conference is M. H. Curtis, "The Hampton Court Conference and Its Aftermath," *History,* XLIV (No. 156, 1961), 1–16. For the effects on the 1604 Parliament of the conference's failure, see the last paragraph of Curtis' article.

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stimulus the Puritans had given the troublemakers. "I can not enough wonder," he said later, "that in three days after the beginning of the Parliament, men should go contrary to their oaths of supremacy. I did not think the Puritans had been so great, so proud, or so dominant in your House."[14]

It is significant that throughout the first month of the session, from March 19 to April 19, Sandys did not once speak in the Commons. He was sitting on a number of committees, some of them important, and his legal training may have given him prominence, but on the floor of the House, where he was later to exert his greatest influence, he had nothing to say. Yet during this month the assembly's stubbornness was clearly demonstrated by the quarrels over the Bucks election and Sir Thomas Shirley's imprisonment, and all leading opponents of crown wishes spoke at one time or another, with the notable exception of Sandys. Given his previous record—minor royal spokesman in the 1593 Parliament, closely linked with the Cecils, possibly working for them in Scotland before Elizabeth died, and knighted by James in 1603[15]—Sir Edwin's silence was not surprising. But his prominence a few weeks later renders the month of silence most remarkable, particularly as he became a frequent speaker. Possibly he was settling into the ways of the House again after an absence of eleven years; perhaps he was preparing some of the speeches he was to make later. But still we have no explanation for the change in loyalties. It seems that Sandys was simply biding his time. Always a shrewd politician, he must have realized after the first weeks of the session that the inclination of the House was toward grievances, that the men determining events were not cowed by royal wishes. If one is to assume that Sandys was moved by sudden feelings of principle and right, then one must wonder why his arguments relied so rarely on such sentiments, and why no great ideal can be detected as the theme, let alone the inspiration, of his speeches. He did like to invoke fundamental laws of reason and nature, but these vague concepts surely did not provide the driving motive behind the attack on wardships or the advocacy of free trade. On the union, too, his arguments were mainly legalistic or negative. At most, as we shall see, one can sense a slight suspicion of monarchy, but this was hardly his prime motivation. All his speeches convey the impression of a shrewd, able, and persuasive man, thoroughly aware at all

[14] Quoted in D. H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956), 249.

[15] Neale, *Elizabeth and Her Parliaments*, 288, refers to Sandys as a speaker, together with Cecil, on "the official and conservative side." The evidence for the maintenance of his connection with the Cecils in Elizabeth's last years is too complicated to be discussed here, but will be fully set forth in a biography of Sandys on which I am now working.

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times of what was going on around him and acutely conscious of the effect he was making. He had a flair for the telling, the appealing, the popular. In other words, he was the archpolitician. For such a man it soon became obvious how to make an impact on the House. It seems that he remained silent for so long only because he was waiting to see which way the parliamentary wind would blow.

On April 19 came the opportunity to make his presence felt. The previous week James had managed to end the Bucks election quarrel and then, at long last, had suggested his own agenda to the House in a message read on April 13.[16] At the head of the list came the union with Scotland, for which the King wanted only preliminary preparations made at this session. During the next few days the M.P.'s slowly came to grips with the measure, striking for the most part a note of compliance. There were some recommendations of caution, and Francis Moore, an eminent lawyer, found it necessary to answer some objections to the union that he had heard.[17] In general, however, only fringe issues, such as whether one could christen a child (by deciding on a name for the new kingdom) before it was born, were considered.

When Sandys addressed the House, the debate was transformed. Perhaps opponents of the measure had been holding their fire while Sir Edwin took a few days to prepare the speech that opened the onslaught. Certainly, in the debate that followed he was supported by two consistent opponents of crown wishes who had not spoken on the issue previously: Christopher Brooke, the poet-*cum*-lawyer friend of John Donne, and the lawyer Richard Martin. Whether planned on his own or in conjunction with others, Sandys's speech was beyond a doubt the turning point in the debate.[18]

For the first time a speaker went straight to the heart of the matter, raising in blunt terms some basic objections. This was "the weightiest Cause, that ever came," and Sandys asked the M.P.'s to "Proceed with a leaden Foot." Rather than discussion of the peripheral topics raised by previous speakers, he wanted consideration of the basic issues. Discussion of the manner of proceeding was pointless until there was agreement about the matter itself, and he urged his colleagues to decide first of all whether the change was even necessary. This question was more fundamental than any

[16] *CJ*, I, 171.

[17] For accounts of the early debates, see *ibid.*, 172–73, 176–78, 950–51.

[18] The speech is in telegraphic form (*ibid.*, 178, 950–51), but its basic arguments are not difficult to follow, especially in the fuller version on pages 950–51. For the "opposition" activities of Brooke, see W. M. Mitchell, *The Rise of the Revolutionary Party in the English House of Commons, 1603–1629* (New York, 1957), 40–42. For Martin, see Neale, *Elizabeth and Her Parliaments*, 382, 402, 418–19. It seems clear that the "Mr. Martin" referred to was Richard, who had been so troublesome in the 1601 session, and not the newcomer Henry, as Mitchell suggests.

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that had been posed, and he followed it by suggesting some of the problems that might have to be faced, such as "Union in Commerce," the validity of current laws, and others. He daringly pointed out that, though the good of king and country were both the same, "no Man sits as a Person, by himself. The King stands not alone." The M.P.'s only *represented* England, and technically they had not even had the power to transfer the crown from one line to another.

These audacious thrusts at the King himself were typical of Sandys, and of course they were enormously effective. He had, in addition, appealed to the M.P.'s national sentiments by pointing out the reputation the name "England" had achieved. All in all, the speech was both provocative and influential. It had raised basic fears that were not to be allayed until the entire project was squashed at a subsequent session of the Parliament. So effective were Sir Edwin's remarks that at long last a privy councilor, Sir John Herbert, found it necessary to intervene. He replied immediately, but rather weakly, by appealing vaguely and vainly for what he called the "Summa lex" of the good of king and country. The remaining speeches of the day were dominated by support of Sandys, mainly from Brooke and Martin, and the same attitude continued the following day, notably in a speech by another consistent opponent of the crown, Sir Maurice Berkeley. During the next few days the majority of the speeches were in favor of the union, but the opposition was asking more and more questions, and few of them were being answered by anything but vague reassurance. James himself felt it necessary to send two messages that expressed surprise at the difficulty his proposal was meeting and asked for an end to "the curious Carping of some."[19] But the carping continued, and James agreed not only to postpone the decision about the joint name, but to allow debate to run its full course. A major speech by Sir Francis Bacon on April 25 defended the project, but even he admitted "The more we wade, the more we doubt."[20] He answered all the main objections one by one, but this was by no means the end of the issue. On the following day the debate reached its climax in a long and carefully reasoned speech by Sandys.

This was obviously a key address, for various notes on its contents have survived.[21] It was virtually the last word of the session on the union, which

[19] The speeches of Herbert, Brooke, and Martin are in *CJ*, I, 178, 951; the succeeding debates and the King's messages, *ibid.*, 179–84, 952–55. For Berkeley's position, see note 33, below.

[20] *CJ*, I, 184, 957. There is a manuscript copy of the objections that Bacon was answering in the Public Record Office [hereafter cited as PRO], PRO/SP 14/7, fol. 145.

[21] The fullest and most useful set of notes is *ibid.*, fols. 157–58. The *CJ* version of the speech is in Volume I, pages 186–87 and 958.

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soon thereafter was tucked away safely in committee. Sandys began by reminding the M.P.'s that if the very first objection, whether the union was even necessary, proved valid, then no further discussion was needed. He examined in detail the answers Bacon had given to the objections, and one by one he dismissed all possible justifications for the change: precedents were no help, because he showed that "there is not any example of any Kingdomes which though they have been United in the head . . . have held the same course in the body by Union of Lawes, Customes, Priviledges, and Stiles of honor." Reason, therefore, was the only possible justification, and here, too, the crown's arguments were found wanting. At this point Sandys spoke mainly in legal terms, which were always highly effective among his colleagues. "How to make lawes in this new Kingdome cannot well be conceaved," he noted, "because England and Scotland severally cannot sett a Law to the whole, nor jointly because they are not one Parliament before they are really United."[22] Furthermore, Parliament had already made James king of England. It could not undo its own work by making him king of Britain. And so the arguments went on, all of them evidently most impressive, considering how little was said after Sandys finished. Yet despite his donnish reluctance to advance beyond mere suggestions of difficulties and declare himself openly against the union, he could not resist a few jibes at the crown. In the final analysis, he pointed out, an act would depend on its interpretation, which would be in the hands of the King. It would therefore have to be quite specific about the safeguards that the Commons wanted, because "we do not sit here upon Hopes of personal Goodness, but to make real Provision. If Princes had as much Wisdom and Goodness as God, we should need no Tie."[23] The root of the M.P.'s fears and doubts about the union were here brought vividly into the open. Moreover, Sandys added, though the King's subjects could take a new oath of allegiance to replace the one that expired with the old title, James would be free forever from the coronation oath guaranteeing his subjects' liberties, "unless there were a New coronation."[24] This might seem a terribly petty argument, but it evidently had meaning for its audience, and Sir Edwin then concluded the speech with a final appeal to national pride: England would lose, by a change of name, the precedence its antiquity had earned: "A new erected Kingdome must take the latest and lowest place."[25]

Both in precedent and legalistic reasoning the union had been found

[22] The quotations are from the PRO manuscript, fols. 157, 158.
[23] *CJ*, I, 186.
[24] PRO manuscript, fol. 158.
[25] *Ibid.*

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wanting, the fears of the M.P.'s about an unrestricted king and England's prestige had been raised, and the measure was never again to enjoy the easy compliance that had greeted it originally. The next two speeches that day raised further objections, and finally Bacon suggested that a committee investigate all these difficulties.[26] That was the end of the matter as far as this session was concerned. The committee was appointed, each member being given a different problem to investigate. As befitted his new prominence, Sandys was assigned, together with Bacon, to the two problems at the head of the list.[27] A final message from James complained petulantly about the slow progress and "the Curiositie of a few giddie Headis," but he agreed to let this session do no more than name commissioners to draw up an act after the prorogation.[28] This task dominated the discussions of union for the remainder of the session. The issue itself was referred to only in passing, and the main work was left to the committees. Sandys did throw one more barb at the union some time later,[29] but by then it was realized that the appointment of the commission was no more than a harmless gesture that helped the Commons mark time until the basic problems could be fully investigated. The bill for the commissioners took almost two months to pass, and when one member likened it to winter fruit, because it ripened slowly, he might have added that for many living things winter was also a period of suspended animation.[30]

Perhaps James was far in advance of his subjects in wanting the union, but for that very reason he needed to be much more effective in argument than his opponents. Here he failed lamentably. As soon as Sandys raised some fundamental objections, the latent misgivings of the M.P.'s came into the open, and his final telling speech ensured that no action would be possible at this session. His role had thus been crucial: the doubts he aroused forced the King to postpone action, and by the time Parliament met again over a year later the opponents of the measure were amply prepared to block further progress. Moreover, in the process of opposing the union, Sir Edwin had rocketed in one week from the position of a quiet, unassuming M.P. to the status of a highly influential, persuasive, and respected leader of debate. Whether done in conjunction with other seekers of grievances or on his own,

[26] *CJ*, I, 187, 958.
[27] *Ibid.*, 188.
[28] *Ibid.*, 194.
[29] During a discussion of purveyance later in the session, Sir Edwin unexpectedly commented: "it hath been said, that he, that is against the Union, will be glad to come, and beg it, within these Forty Years, on their [*sic*] Knees, when their [*sic*] Daughters should be married into Scotland, and the Scotts inhabit here." (*Ibid.*, 973.)
[30] *Ibid.*, 230.

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Sandys effectively demonstrated the speed with which an able speaker could rise to prominence, given the chance to appeal to an emotional distrust of crown wishes.

One other proposal that emerged from the debate on the union deserves notice. On the day after the final royal message, which had spoken of the "Jalousie and Distruste" that had hampered the progress of the House, the M. P.'s determined to assure the King that they had acted for none but the purest reasons.[31] Various members offered to purge themselves, but eventually a small committee, including Sandys, was appointed to consider the best way to satisfy James. This was not the first body named for such a purpose, but it did mark an important stage on the way to the "Apology." The reason for setting up the committee, the feeling that James had been misinformed, was already suggestive, because this was later a major justification for the "Apology." In addition, part of that document was to be an explanation of the lengthy debate on the union.[32] And the independent-minded record of each member of the committee heightens the suspicion that its work was a significant prelude to the "Apology."[33]

The direct antecedent of the "Apology" was the series of debates on wardship. This prerogative was a far more elusive target than the union because officially it was beyond the jurisdiction of the House. By definition it was a privilege due to the king and not subject to the approval of Parliament. Hence the M.P.'s approached it with care, stressing that they were asking for a favor, not a right.

Wardship had been the second item, after religion, in Wroth's original agenda. The committee set up to investigate his proposals had included Sandys, who had therefore been connected with the issue from the first and may well have spent much of his time in the early weeks working on the subject. Not until two months of the session had passed, however, did it

[31] James's message is *ibid.*, 194. The debate is on page 197.

[32] *Constitutional Documents*, ed. Tanner, 217–30.

[33] The names of the committee members are in *CJ*, I, 197. All eleven members of the committee were without exception "independents" who at some time during this session spoke in opposition to royal wishes on a major issue. A detailed study of speaking and committee records indicates that nine of these eleven were actually leaders of "opposition" (Mitchell, *Revolutionary Party*, 42–44): Sir Maurice Berkeley; Sir Francis Hastings, a well-known Puritan; Lawrence Hyde, a kinsman of Sandys and a troublemaker since 1601 (Neale, *Elizabeth and Her Parliaments*, 377–78, 421); Sir George More, twenty years in the House and with Puritan leanings (*ibid.*, 112, 401, 407, 410); Sandys himself; Sir William Strode, another kinsman of Sir Edwin; Sir Robert Wingfield, a "rebellious" man since Elizabethan days (*ibid.*, 386); Sir Robert Wroth; and Henry Yelverton, son of a leading Elizabethan "opposition" man. The two other members, Sir Edward and Sir Henry Montague, had shown independent tendencies during the session, notably the former, who had seconded and amplified Wroth's momentous speech on the third day.

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attract much attention on the floor of the Commons. Sir Edwin had attempted unsuccessfully to have wards linked to the discussions of purveyors early in May, but finally, on May 19, when he was chosen to take four bills up to the Lords—an honor given only to the most respected members of the House—he suggested that he might also ask their lordships to join in a petition to the King for leave to discuss wardship.[34] His motion was approved, a committee was formed, and within a week Sandys seems to have taken the lead. That the final petition was largely his work was evident not only from the style and the arguments, but also from the fact that he reported the committee's work to the House.[35]

The petition did not restrict itself to wardships. It requested the end of all obsolete feudal privileges, giving the following as the main reasons for abolition: the law of nature, which included parents' rights to decide their children's upbringing; the impoverishment of the king's subjects; unfortunate "forced and ill-suited Marriages"—a remarkable argument for its day; and the contempt of foreign nations. The last was a rather farfetched suggestion, but typical of Sandys, who may have liked appeals to nationalism because they had proved so effective in the debate on the union. Only a man particularly fond of the argument would have dragged it into the petition in so contrived a manner. There was also throughout the document a hint of contempt for things monarchical that was typical of Sir Edwin. It was most apparent in the sections that implied that there was a natural law of original rights more important than royal privileges, a view exemplified by the assertion that the abolition of privileges would mean "a Restitution unto the original Right of all Men by the Law of God and Nature." Legally wards were unimpeachable, but this passage suggested that perhaps the King had no real right to keep them. The compiler of the *Journal* of the House was evidently so perturbed by this notion that he added a footnote stating that original right could be abridged by positive law.

In these glimmerings of disrespect for the crown, reinforced later in the petition when James was all but challenged to accept the demands because he had promised to show his gratitude for his wonderful reception in England, Sandys's hand was once again apparent. He had not hesitated to speak in similar fashion in his great speech on the union, and in the book he had written five years earlier[36] he had been even more explicit. At one point,

[34] *CJ*, I, 207, 215, 976. For the committee and the first discussions, see pages 221–22.

[35] *Ibid.*, 227–28, contains the petition. On page 226 it is recorded that Sandys presented the proposals.

[36] Sir Edwin Sandys, *A Relation of the State of Religion: and with What Hopes and Policies it hath been framed, and is maintained in the severall states of these westerne parts*

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when rejecting Catholic claims to infallibility, he had retorted sarcastically that by the same token kings could not err, "it being said by the wisest, that the heart of the King is in the hands of God, a divine sentence is in his lipps, and his mouth shall not transgress in judgment."[37] His real views appeared in one of the marginal additions (never printed) that he himself made in the copy of the first edition that is now in the British Museum. Here he spoke outright about "Princes, of whome it was said by the Spanish Fryar [?] that few went to hell bec. they were few."[38] Sandys may well have been unique in this Parliament in holding an opinion so disrespectful of the crown. The hint of such an attitude is another indication that he was prominently involved in drawing up the wardship petition.

The long-range effect of the petition was most important because it contained the first open demand for the abolition of *all* obsolete feudal privileges in exchange for a regular revenue. The idea of compensation in return for concessions had been raised previously. Only a few weeks before it had been mentioned with regard to purveyances. But this petition was the first attempt to remove all obsolete feudal rights at one blow. The proposal fell through, of course, and it did not receive wide publicity until the so-called Great Contract was discussed in a later session of this same Parliament. Yet if Sandys was largely responsible for the wardship petition, as seems likely, then to him—and certainly at least to his committee—belongs the credit for the first clear formulation of a demand that was to recur throughout the succeeding half century until it was finally satisfied after the Restoration.

The immediate result was almost as important. The discussion that followed Sandys's report was brief, but no full debate ever took place. For this was the last day before the Whitsun recess, and in the meantime Sir Edwin's committee was to confer with the Lords about the petition. When Sandys reported on the conference to the House on June 1, six days later, wardship fell into the background. He mentioned that in his own speech at the meeting he had stressed that if the King granted their request it would be a great grace, and, if not, it would be no wrong. Then, however, had come the great surprise. In contrast to their previous enthusiasm, the Lords had

of the world (London, 1605). Not published until the year after this parliamentary session, the book was to be suppressed by the High Commission, possibly in reprisal for Sandys's activities in the House. For a full account of the history of the editions, see my article "The Editions of Sir Edwin Sandys's *Relation of the State of Religion*," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXVI (No. 4, 1963), 323–36.

[37] 1629 ed. (the first to be paginated), 203.

[38] Copy in the British Museum, marginal comment two pages after signature P3.

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suddenly turned to reproof. Obviously under pressure from James, they had completely rejected all of the Commons' proposals. They had chided the members of the lower house for their ingratitude and their obsession with privileges and grievances and had then gone on to refute the petition point by point.[39]

This firm rebuff turned the Commons to a wider issue. Only two days before they had again received a similar scolding from James himself.[40] Now their motives and maturity had been questioned even by their colleagues in the upper house. This was the final affront, and the leaders of opposition to the crown had a perfect opportunity. They could embark on their most ambitious venture.

When Sandys sat down after his gloomy report, the stage was set for a dramatic gesture. The man who rose to address the House, however, was no familiar leader of "opposition." He was Sir Thomas Ridgeway, a fairly active member, but a newcomer to the Commons, sitting in his one and only session. His parliamentary career was to be cut short when James sent him to a minor post in Ireland before the next session, almost certainly to prevent a repetition of his activities in 1604.[41] Outside the Commons his career was respectable but hardly distinguished. A prominent Devon gentleman, sheriff of his county in 1600, he was to invest heavily in the English colonization of Ireland. Eventually he acquired the earldom of Londonderry, but even so he was no outstanding figure in Jacobean society. Why Sir Thomas, who appeared so briefly in parliamentary history, should have been the M.P. to make the most daring proposal of his one session, has never been explained. For when Sandys finished his report, it was Ridgeway who came forward to suggest that, because of James's "Impression of Mislike of the Proceedings of the House in general," the Commons should survey their past actions and justify themselves to the King.[42] Here was the proposal that gave birth to the great "Apology" of the House, and Ridgeway was to take charge of the document until it reached its final form. A little investigation can disclose the reason for his sudden prominence.

[39] *CJ*, I, 230. Sandys mentioned that the Lords began their reproof of the Commons by asking them to recall "in what State we were, the 12 of March was Twelvemonth: That we would have given half that we had, to have that we now enjoy." (*Ibid.*) This reference to the situation twelve days before Elizabeth died, when many Englishmen were fearful that the uncertain succession might provoke disorder, was obviously intended as a reminder of the enormous relief that subsequently greeted James's smooth accession to the throne. It is ironic that instead of evoking feelings of gratitude, this plea served only to indicate how rapidly and completely the King's popularity had evaporated. (See note 52, below.)

[40] *CJ*, I, 230; see also Gardiner, *History*, I, 180.

[41] *CJ*, I, 315–16.

[42] *Ibid.*, 230, 984.

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Sir Thomas Ridgeway was the nephew of Sandys's second wife, Anne Southcote. He was also the nephew of the wife of another major leader of "opposition" at this session, Sir William Strode.[43] All three, Ridgeway, Sandys, and Strode, had been on the committee that conferred with the Lords about wardship. That meeting had taken place a week previously. In the meantime had come the Whitsun recess, which had given the "opposition" group ample time to plan for the action of June 1. When James berated the House on the day Parliament reconvened, the opportunity became obvious. Two days later Sandys gave his report of unexpected opposition from the Lords, which set the final seal on the House's frustration. To take advantage of this moment, the "opposition" group cleverly chose an inconspicuous and seemingly unpartisan spokesman. Ridgeway performed his task admirably, and he was followed by a deluge of approval that swept along even the Speaker himself. The "opposition" men of course helped to keep the flow going: Sir John Hollis, another member of the wardship committee and a prominent independent-minded man,[44] seconded Ridgeway's motion, and Strode added his weight to the discussion that followed.[45] But their urgings were hardly needed because the House was now fully aroused and determined to clear itself "from the Scandal of Levity and Precipitation."[46]

The "opposition's" maneuver was so successful that James became quite alarmed. Four days later he sent a message that showed him in full retreat. He explained his harsh words as the admonition of a father and asked that they not be taken amiss. Since there was no doubt in his mind about the loyalty and affection of the Commons, their desire for justification was in itself sufficient to satisfy him. Therefore, the Speaker added, the King "wisheth we would not trouble ourselves with giving him satisfaction."[47] It was a naïve appeal, incapable of altering the House's purpose. Not even a single comment greeted the message, and the "Apology" proceeded.

Although wards, at the special request of the Speaker,[48] were to occupy an important place in the "Apology," they were overshadowed by the much larger issue of the House's self-justification. All the same, Sandys had a large part in the subsequent proceedings. The committee chosen for the task was the one that had discussed wardship, with few additions. Sir Edwin had been a dominant member of the earlier body, and it is unlikely that his

[43] *The Visitation of the County of Devon*, ed. J. L. Vivian, (Exeter, 1895), 647, 699–700. For Strode's role in the Commons, see Mitchell, *Revolutionary Party*, 42.

[44] Mitchell quotes Bacon's opinion that Hollis was among the leading opponents of the crown. (*Ibid.*, 40.)

[45] *CJ*, I, 230, 984.

[46] *Ibid.*, 230.

[47] *Ibid.*, 232–33.

[48] *Ibid.*, 230.

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position was much changed when Ridgeway took over the job of reporting to the House. A full analysis of the "Apology" itself is beyond the scope of this study because Sandys's role in its formulation cannot be determined with any certainty. There was probably no single, or even principal, author because the committee that drew up the document presumably divided the work among its members. The most one can surmise is that possibly the "Apology" reflected the sentiments of a group within the committee, such as the six leading "opposition" men who defended it when it was presented to the House.[49] At least one important section was very probably Sandys's work: the lengthy recapitulation of the discussions of wardship and the resultant petition. In this section the arguments from the final petition reappeared, in the same clear presentation,[50] and in all likelihood this was Sir Edwin's doing. So, too, the explanation of the protracted debates on the union may well have come from his pen.

As for the rest of the "Apology," there are suggestions of wider involvement by Sandys, but nothing concrete. One can imagine his influence, but little more. There was a comment about the limitations of human wisdom when information was inadequate, and a flat statement that the liberties of the House had never been so "dangerously impugned," both of which smacked of Sandys's lack of respect toward the crown. Similar in tone was the remark that subjects would be free of worry about privileges if good kings were immortal, but that unfortunately God occasionally created "hypocrites and tyrants."[51] The whole document, in fact, was an implicit insult to the King, suggesting as it did that James had no idea how England was

[49] See note 53, below. For a full discussion of the contents of the "Apology," see Gardiner, *History,* I, 180–86.

[50] *Constitutional Documents,* ed. Tanner, 228–29. I mention the clarity of presentation because this was always a hallmark of Sandys's work. He also had a fondness for numbering his arguments, and the use of this device throughout the "Apology" may have been at his suggestion. Professor Notestein has informed me that he has discovered in the Inner Temple a manuscript version of the "Apology" that may help to prove its authorship. He has very kindly sent me a photostat of the document, which unfortunately discloses nothing further about Sandys's participation.

[51] *Constitutional Documents,* ed. Tanner, 218, 222–23. See, too, Wallace, *Sir Edwin Sandys,* 80, where it is suggested, on the basis of the content of the "Apology" alone, that Sandys had a considerable part in its formulation. Some of the arguments are plausible, but in general they suffer from inadequate proof. In attributing this last remark to Sandys, for instance, only one earlier quotation is given to show that the statement was typical of the man. There is no proof that it was an unusual view, or that it was a particular favorite with Sir Edwin. Similarly, the statement in the "Apology" that the Commons sat as representatives of England is hardly proof of Sandys's authorship. He had mentioned this concept in a previous speech, but it was common at the time, appearing even in James's speech at the end of the session. (Quoted in Gardiner, *History,* I, 190–91.) If anything, the reference in the "Apology" is evidence that Sandys was not its author. In his earlier speech Sir Edwin had stressed that the Commons could not act on a matter as great as the union because England was *only* represented, and not actually present, in Parliament. In the "Apology," however, the attitude was that the House could act without the further need for consultation implied by Sandys, precisely because it represented all the subjects of the King.

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governed, or what rules had to be observed. There was also a hint of Sandys's participation in the references to religion, which were remarkably moderate considering the earlier influence of the Puritans. One passage in particular might have come straight out of Sir Edwin's book on religion: "We disputed not of matters of faith and doctrine, our desire was peace only; and our device of unity, how this lamentable and long-lasting dissension amongst the ministers . . . might at length . . . be extinguished. And for the ways of this peace, we are not at all addicted to our own inventions, but ready to embrace any fit way that may be offered."[52]

When the "Apology" was finally presented to the House, on June 20, the leaders of "opposition" figured prominently in the debate that followed, and nine of the twelve speeches recorded were in favor of the document.[53] Its subsequent fate has remained a mystery. A comment by the 1604 Speaker, Sir Edward Phelips, in the Parliament of 1621, appears to indicate that it was presented to the King,[54] but of this there is no confirmation. James probably read the "Apology" because he referred to it sarcastically in his speech at the end of the session.[55] Its main purpose was therefore achieved, since nothing

[52] *Constitutional Documents,* ed. Tanner, 226. In Sandys, *A Relation,* 194 ff., Sir Edwin examined various proposals that aimed to restore unity in Christendom, but found them all wanting. "For my owne part," he said, "the greatest desire I have in this world, is to see Christendome reconciled . . . and that without the ruine and subversion of eyther part . . . and thinke any kind of peace were better than these strifes. . . ." (*Ibid.,* 201.) There is only one other sentence in the final document that can be linked with Sandys: an almost direct quotation from his report on the Lords' rejection of the wardship petition that precipitated the "Apology." The passage from Sir Edwin's report is quoted in note 39, above. In the "Apology," there is a section that begins by recalling that the Commons had been told "that on the 24th of March was twelvemonth we stood in so great fear that we would have given half we were worth for the security wherein we now stand." (*Constitutional Documents,* ed. Tanner, 219.) As the member who had heard and reported the original reference to England's debt to the King, Sandys was presumably involved with the section of the "Apology" devoted to its rebuttal. Appropriately, this was a passage of veiled insolence, which denied that the King's early popularity was due to relief at the untroubled succession. It asserted instead that the joyful welcome was an expression of confidence in his justice and virtue, and hence in his willingness to relieve burdens and listen to grievances. Even his own popularity was thus turned against James! Sandys was the source of the comment that inspired this *volte-face,* and one can assume that its inclusion is further evidence of his prominence among the creators of the "Apology."

[53] *CJ,* I, 243, 995. On the crown side were Bacon and the two diplomats, Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Edward Stafford. Of the nine remaining speakers whose sentiments were recorded, six were leading "opposition" men: Nicholas Fuller, a prominent Puritan, Sir Robert Wingfield, Richard Martin, Sandys himself, Sir William Strode, and Sir John Hollis, all of them fresh from the committee that had drawn up the "Apology." Two other members of this committee, Sir Henry Beamount and Sir Herbert Crofts, both M.P.'s of some experience, backed the proposal, as presumably did Sir Richard Lovelace, a close kinsman of Sandys. The views of the remaining five speakers are unknown.

[54] "In the first Parliament in the King's Reign, the House . . . *delivered* a Remonstrance to the King, declaring that they had as good Right to their Liberties of Parliament, Principally to that of Speech, as to their Inheritance [italics mine]." See *Commons Debates 1621,* ed. Wallace Notestein *et al.* (7 vols., New Haven, Conn., and London, 1935), V, 433. Phelips seems to be referring to the section where the House's basic, natural rights were claimed.

[55] See Gardiner, *History,* I, 191.

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more than a reading by the King could have been expected of this lecture to the monarch.

Once again Sandys had been a prime cause of irritation to the crown. Not content with disruptive remarks about the union, he had been a guiding light and obvious organizer at every stage in the preparation of the most stinging rebuke ever offered to a monarch by Parliament. His influence had been continuous from the appointment of the wardship committee until the presentation of the "Apology." These activities alone are impressive evidence of the considerable power Sir Edwin had gained in so short a time as a leader of the House.

The final issue to be examined, free trade, reveals some of the motives at work among the M.P.'s. No struggle with the crown is involved, but again Sandys was able to appeal most successfully to the aspirations of his colleagues. The subject was another of those mentioned originally by Wroth.[56] The fourth item on his list had been monopolies, by which he had meant the special licenses given to individuals by the crown, granting the sole right to sell or manufacture certain commodities such as playing cards. These grants had come under heavy attack during the last two Elizabethan Parliaments, and legislation against them was passed once more in 1604. But another kind of monopoly figured prominently at this session for the first time: the grants made to the great trading companies, whose tight membership received complete control over large areas of overseas enterprise. Unlike their predecessors, the gentry of the seventeenth century opposed and attacked several holders of this second type of monopoly.

Before investigating the proceedings, some background must be provided. In a study now nearing completion, I have analyzed the membership of each Parliament from 1584 to 1628 with the aim of discovering how many nonmerchant M.P.'s invested in any of some thirty-five leading trade or exploration companies of the period. The final figures are not yet ready, but a preliminary count indicates that over one-third of the nonmerchant M.P.'s in the 1604 session invested in trading ventures. For the 1601 session the figure is about one-quarter, and for 1597 it is less than one-fifth. No Parliament either before or after 1604 had as high a percentage, and, even more significant, more of these nonmerchant members of companies were new M. P.'s in 1604 than at any other time. Over twice as many were new in 1604 as in 1597. In other words there was a tremendous interest among gentry M.P.'s in the possibilities of investing in overseas enterprise, and this

[56] *CJ*, I, 151.

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interest was at its height in 1604. It is also significant that scarcely any of these M.P.'s had made their investments before the Parliament opened. The reason for this can be found in the structure of the companies of the time.

Major public companies with monopolies in the early seventeenth century fell into two categories: regulated and joint-stock. Both had a monopoly in a commodity or an area in which only their members could trade, and both usually had regular meetings for official company business. But here the similarities ended. The regulated company might have had quite stringent apprenticeship or other requirements before it admitted a member, but basically it was little more than a licensing corporation. It held the monopoly, and any merchant wishing to partake of the trade had to become a member. The organization existed only to lay down the rules that governed the trade, to enforce them, and to preserve the monopoly for its members. The trading itself was left completely in the hands of each individual merchant, and success or failure depended entirely on his personal skill or fortune. In a joint-stock company, though the basic organization might be the same, the membership was open to anyone with money to invest, and the trade was carried on by the entire company, not by each individual member. Each voyage or venture was planned, financed, and executed by the company as a whole, or at least by its leaders and its paid employees. All that the individual member had to do was buy a part, a share, of the venture if he wished. He himself needed no trading skill whatsoever to be able to partake of the profits; the success of his investment depended entirely on the success of the company.

Obviously only a joint-stock enterprise could have interested most of the gentry, who had none of the skills required by a regulated company. In the following years, they flocked to the ventures that asked for nothing more than an investment. Naturally, they wanted as much trade as possible to be open to this kind of participation. With the gentry's predilection for joint-stock companies, their subsequent rush into trade, and the distinction between the two types of company as background, the motives behind the discussions of free trade can be assessed.

The debates of 1604 have long been regarded primarily as an attack of the lesser merchants on the greater, of the provinces on London.[57] Both elements were undoubtedly present, but it was a third, the feelings of the

[57] See, for examples, Gardiner, *History*, I, 188–90; and, argued at much greater length, with some qualification of Gardiner's views, Astrid Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade* (Copenhagen, 1927), 132–33, 149–56. For a recent reiteration of Friis's analysis, see B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600–1642: A Study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959), 30.

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nonmerchants (mainly, of course, gentry) that was vital to the measures that were taken. The two bills that started proceedings may well have been introduced by merchants, as has been suggested.[58] But when they fell into the hands of the gentry, as they did when Sandys took control, other considerations entered the issue. Sir Edwin's own subsequent career, his deep involvement in the Virginia, East India, and Somers Islands Companies, was a perfect example of the gentry's new fascination for joint-stock ventures. Gentlemen were not merely spokesmen for the merchants: they advocated free trade for their own reasons. Their interests alone ensured that determined action would be taken.

The standard account of the bill that eventually passed in 1604 originated with Astrid Friis, who laid the principal stress on the motives of the provincial merchants.[59] She implied that the groups that suffered most from the great trade monopolies were the commercial classes outside London; that they would benefit most from the abolition of restrictions; and that therefore they were the most determined opponents of the monopolies. Other groups had only minor interest in the measure: knights from cloth-producing counties gave support because of current economic difficulties and resentment at the Londoners' share of cloth profits. Other gentlemen could approve because they represented outports or because commerce was a good career for younger sons. And the recent peace with Spain reinforced the need for greater freedom: merchants had to become law abiding, and new areas of trade were opening, developments that were bound to favor the London beneficiaries of the monopolies. The gentry, too, could no longer occupy themselves with war, though Friis suggested throughout her account that the gentry's personal aims were subsidiary. In view of what has been said above, however, such an analysis of motivation cannot be accepted without serious qualification.

Although it is true that the outport merchants did envy the Londoners, that the gentry did want better opportunities for their younger sons, and that the peace with Spain did help bring the issue into the open, the role of the nonmerchant M.P.'s deserves much greater emphasis, particularly as they were the chief organizers of the bill that finally passed. The gentry, quite simply, wanted to find a place for themselves in the spectacular expansion of English trade, and not just for their younger sons, who could easily qualify for regulated companies when they seriously took up a career in commerce. The gentry wanted to be able to enter trade without making

[58] Friis, *Cloth Trade*, 149.
[59] *Ibid.*, 150–51.

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it a career. Nor were they merely representing other interests, such as outports or cloth-producing counties. It helps little toward an understanding of Sandys's motives, for instance, to mention, as did Friis, that he had once represented a Devon borough in Parliament.[60] He advocated free trade primarily because he personally wanted to participate in it, and, as we shall see, free trade in his eyes meant not an end to monopolies, but an end to monopolies for regulated companies. Within a few years he and over a third of his gentry colleagues were to demonstrate their feelings by investing in monopolistic joint-stock ventures. When, in his great speech on free trade, Sir Edwin denounced the regulated Muscovy Company, yet approved of the joint-stock trade to the East Indies, he expressed his own inclinations. He was not simply echoing, as Friis suggested, the sentiments of the provincial ports, which disliked the Muscovy Company for interfering in northeastern trade, but tolerated the East India Company because it did not encroach on any of their ventures. Nor was Sandys just showing his countrymen's pride that England had won a place in the lucrative trade to the Indies.[61] Such considerations may have had some influence on him, but the key to his position was the fact that he could easily buy a share in the profits of the East Indies, but not in the wealth of the Muscovy Company.

Sir Edwin seems to have gained control of the two bills by the time a committee was appointed on April 24. His was the first name on the list,[62] a position usually given to the member who reported to the House and who thus acted as a kind of informal chairman of proceedings. Second on the list was a formidable representative of the London companies, both regulated and joint-stock—the great merchant Sir Thomas Smythe, a future colleague and opponent of Sandys in a number of trade enterprises. On the whole, however, the committee was weighted heavily in favor of the bills. Its composition merits a closer look in view of Friis's analysis of its membership.

Apart from Sandys and Smythe, there were twenty named members, of whom only one was definitely against the bills: Sir Henry Montague, a lawyer who later invested in trade, but who at this time, as Recorder of London, was committed to the great companies of both types. Only five

[60] *Ibid.*, 151. The double misconception that, on the one hand, antimonopolist agitation originated primarily in outport jealousy of London, and that, on the other hand, a man like Sandys opposed monopolies in general, has also led to a misunderstanding of Sir Edwin's position and parliamentary discussions of trade at other sessions. It is beyond the scope of this article to deal with all such cases, but a recent example can be found on page 44 of Richard L. Bushman, "English Franchise Reform in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of British Studies*, III (No. 1, 1963), 36–56.

[61] Friis, *Cloth Trade*, 155.

[62] *CJ*, I, 183.

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members were merchants from outports: James Bagge, Anthony Cole, Thomas Dannett, Thomas James, and Sir John Jeffreys. One more, Sir Jerome Horsey, was M.P. for a provincial port, while another, John Prowse, represented Exeter. In the absence of other information it is conceivable that these two acted in accordance with the wishes of their constituencies. Two other members, the lawyer Francis Moore and Sir Robert Nappier, had no obvious reason for supporting or opposing free trade. These last four men were the only members of the committee who seem to have had no personal interest in the bills. Of the ten others, nine were gentry who were soon to take advantage of the joint-stock system to invest in trade. Seven of these were leading "opposition" men.[63] The eighth was Sir Richard Hawkins, the hero of Armada days, a Devon adventurer itching to reap further harvest from overseas enterprise, and within a few years an investor in a number of companies. The ninth gentleman with a future in trade was Sir Thomas Lake, a well-known courtier; the last member of the committee was our old friend Sir Robert Wroth. Throughout his life Wroth had represented London's county, Middlesex, in the Commons, and, though he himself was to die before the great influx of gentry into trade, his sons were to be substantial investors in commerce. Out of twenty-two named members of the committee, therefore, there were only two definite opponents of the bills; and out of the sixteen definite supporters, only five were outport merchants, while eleven were gentry, nearly all "opposition" men hoping to gain a share of the profits of trade. Among the four remaining members, two cannot be labeled, and two perhaps acted as representatives of their outport constituencies.[64]

The core of the committee, and the basis of support for free trade, was therefore a group of gentry whose later investments reveal their personal motives for opposing commercial restrictions. Since most of them were also leading "opposition" men, they were among the boldest of the M.P.'s and not inclined to hesitate before challenging one of the great powers of the land. These prominent parliamentarians undoubtedly dominated the committee, as they dominated the proceedings of the House in general. Their personal interest in freeing trade was thus a decisive factor in the deliberations of the committee. The few provincial merchants and representatives of outport constituencies merely added weight to the proposals. They did not occupy

[63] Lawrence Hyde, Richard Martin, Sir George More, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir William Strode, and Henry Yelverton.

[64] The committee is listed in *CJ*, I, 183. For the "opposition" members, see Mitchell, *Revolutionary Party*, 41–44. For constituencies, see *Return of Members of Parliament* (2 vols., London, 1878), I, 442–48.

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the central position; nor were their interests major determinants of the outcome. Admittedly, apart from the named members, the citizens of all cities, the burgesses of all port towns, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports were ex officio appointed to the committee. But few of those eligible through such mass appointments ever appeared at committee meetings, and they certainly remained subsidiary to the named members. In this case they probably did no more than add further weight on the side of the gentry who were guiding proceedings.

After a number of meetings, the committee delivered its report on May 21. The spokesman was Sandys, and his long speech, "excellently delivered,"[65] was the manifesto of the advocates of free trade. It had undoubted defects, as was stressed by Friis.[66] The economic arguments were superficial, and there was no detailed definition of a monopoly. As Friis suggested, the use of the hated word "monopoly" may well have been only a device to rally support for the proposal.[67] Yet none of these failings really detracts from the purpose of Sandys's report.

The economic arguments, which outlined the effects of restrictions on English trade, may have been weak, but they were not, as Friis would have us believe, "the true reasons why . . . the great majority of the House of Commons could accord the bill . . . their warm support."[68] They were additional arguments, thrown in to bolster the measure, and their very weakness was an indication of their subordinate capacity. As for the vagueness of the term "monopoly," this was surely no drawback. Sandys knew an effective piece of propaganda when he saw one, and its very vagueness ensured that no M.P. who hated the name "monopoly" would fail to support the measure just because he thought it meant something slightly different. All the same, the term did have a very definite meaning for the gentry. It indicated the restriction of commerce and its profits to fewer people than a particular trade could support. The few could be ten or any number of people, but they constituted a monopoly as long as they excluded others from profits that were available. This principle was at the root of the gentry's demand for free trade. With this demand, and not by economic arguments, was the overwhelming support of the House won. For this reason, and not because the term "monopoly" was unclear, was the Muscovy Company, with its regulated membership, denounced, while the East India Company, with its shares available to all, remained exempt from

[65] *CJ*, I, 976.
[66] Friis, *Cloth Trade*, 152–56.
[67] *Ibid.*, 153–54.
[68] *Ibid.*, 152.

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attack. The gentry wanted a chance to share the profits. They felt they were being kept from their share by a monopoly, and so they used this pejorative term with justification.

One final small point: Friis added a last word of condemnation when she upheld, with the comment that legal knowledge was "very feebly represented in the committee," Coke's later remark that the form of the bill was defective.[69] Coke's objection was only a device for delaying the bill when the session was almost over, but Friis's comment is not borne out by the facts. A quick check reveals that four of the most distinguished lawyers in the House, Hyde, Martin, Montague, and Moore, were on the committee—a substantial number for any such body. Nor was Sandys, the member who actually drew up the bill,[70] a novice in legal matters.

The structure of the report was typical of Sir Edwin. Opening with a grand statement of Englishmen's natural right to their own trade, he came rapidly to the great grievance: that all of the country's trade, so he said, was in the hands of only two hundred men. Then came the legal arguments and precedents, followed by yet another of his pet appeals to nationalism, once again rather farfetched: England was hated for its monopolies by the foreigners who flourished because of free trade. Here Sandys first used the word "monopoly," and he indicated immediately that the difference between foreign and English practices lay in the freedom or restriction *within* the companies. The existence of companies per se was not questioned. To his way of thinking, a joint-stock company was clearly free whereas a regulated company was not. Next came the economic analysis, noticeably not in the important place in the speech that it would have occupied if Sandys, always aware of such matters, had thought it crucial. The main argument of the outport merchants, that wealth would be more equally distributed if trade were freed, appeared in a particularly inconspicuous spot—second in the list of economic arguments. Moreover, although the argument appeared in the final bill, it was significantly qualified. What was wrong was not the inequality itself, but the instability and "Mischief" that it caused. Sandys seemed to be concerned as much with ending merchant quarrels as with presenting the demands of the outports. This is the most obvious indication that the provincial merchants were by no means the chief power behind the bill.

In a vital place as the very last of the arguments in favor of free trade, Sandys neatly presented the gentry's basic motives in the pious guise of a

[69] *Ibid.*, 156.
[70] The report was "penned by himself." (*CJ*, I, 218.)

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parent's concern for his children's welfare. "What else," he asked, "shall become of Gentlemens younger Sons?" Of all the possibilities, "Merchandizing" seemed the best, and as a final, typical touch Sandys casually added that such a career was common in foreign countries. Here was the gentry's desire to share in trade put in its most laudable form. The implication that help was being sought only for helpless younger sons was particularly clever because particularly misleading. As has been mentioned, a younger son was perfectly free to make commerce a full-time career, if he wished. Some of England's greatest merchants, such as Sir John Wolstenholme, were younger sons of gentry. Sandys seemed to imply that openings for such people in trade were now at stake. What was in fact at stake was the opportunity for younger sons such as Sandys himself, who did not want to make commerce a full-time career, to share in the profits of overseas enterprise. The argument for younger sons was thus an argument for the gentry. And Sir Edwin underlined its importance by placing it last among the arguments in favor of free trade, where it could have maximum impact.

The rest of Sandys's report consisted of answers to the supporters of restriction, and once again he revealed the attitudes of the gentry. In refuting the suggestion that the only monopolies were those given to one man, Sir Edwin elaborated on the idea that any unjust exclusion constituted a monopoly and focused his main attack on the greatest of the regulated companies, the Merchant Adventurers. To the objection that freedom would undermine the proper training of merchants, Sandys had a revealing answer: although some could still learn if they wished, "at least wise Men [could] adventure their Stocks with other Men." Here was clear advocacy of the joint-stock system, an advocacy he reiterated unambiguously: "It is true that it is fit to trade to the East Indies with a joint Stock, and so do the Hollanders; this Act does therefore not forbid Men to trade in a joint Stock, if they list, and see it fit." It forbade only the requirement that, in order to trade, a man had to join a regulated group, such as the Muscovy Company, in which all activities were supposedly controlled by only fifteen men.

Sir Edwin spoke for the gentry. He had listened as various merchants, among them the greatest in the land, had flocked to his committee, all accusing the dominant Londoners of restrictions, while these same Londoners "standing stiffly for their own Company, yet repined at other Companies."[71] In contrast, Sandys now spoke in terms far distant from petty merchant squabbles. He appealed to natural rights, to national welfare and prestige, and to the wish of all England to share in the profits of trade. Despite some

[71] *Ibid.* The report is on pages 218–21.

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opposition during the three days in which it was debated, the tide in favor of the bill grew steadily, until, on the last day, ten out of twelve speeches supported the measure. In view of the future investments of the M.P.'s and the way in which their aspirations had been aroused by Sandys, it was no wonder that the bill was finally passed "with great Consent and Applause of the House with scarce Forty Voices dissenting."[72] Such enthusiasm came more from the gentry's ambitions than from the provinces' frustrations.

Although the bill never went beyond the Lords, its passage was a major accomplishment. For it passed despite the disapproval not only of the powerful London merchants, but also of the crown in the person of Herbert, who spoke against the measure. The Lords were once again more vulnerable to pressure, but in the Commons Sandys's telling speech carried the day. He convinced his colleagues that they were acting "for the exceeding Benefit of all the Land,"[73] and the gentry rallied overwhelmingly to his side. The surprisingly large majority he mustered was yet another demonstration of his ability to catch the spirit of his fellow members and guide proceedings in the House.

When James closed the session on July 7 he had little but reproof for the Commons. "I will not thank where I think no thanks due," he said, and though he admitted that there were many wise men in the House, "where many are some must needs be idle heads, some rash, some busy informers."[74] To James, of course, almost anything but compliance was rashness, but he did have justification for his annoyance. He had been questioned, frustrated, ignored, and patronized. Although he had not even asked for a subsidy, he had heard little but grievances, while his own measures had met a series of rebuffs. Undoubtedly prominent among these "rash" and "idle heads" had been Sir Edwin Sandys.

His opposition alone had been crippling to the King's wishes, but he had added insult to injury with his disrespectful attitude. In his remark about the Scots taking over all the daughters of England, for instance, there was a provocative rudeness that may have been popular with the House, but was unnecessarily nasty about James's compatriots. Such impetuosity contrasted strangely with the sobriety of most of his speeches, yet both characteristics were highly effective in the Commons. And it must not be forgotten that, once Sandys had decided to join the opponents of the crown and make a bid for leadership of the House, he pursued his goal with great

[72] *Ibid.*, 218.
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] Quoted in Gardiner, *History*, I, 190–91.

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determination. It is true, of course, that the ineptitude of crown guidance played right into the hands of the "opposition." James's attempts to impose his views were disorganized, vacillating, and tactless. He sorely lacked the sensitivity to the feelings of the M.P.'s that Elizabeth or a man like Sandys so abundantly possessed.

All the same, Sir Edwin took advantage of the situation with consummate skill. His speeches revealed a keen sense for effective arguments which, once proven persuasive, were used repeatedly in a variety of guises. Thus natural law could justify an attack on wardship or on trade restrictions, concern about national wealth could be roused in face of an imminent influx of Scots or against restraints on commerce, and the country's prestige abroad could be used to raise objections to almost anything. Even more telling were the almost imperceptible allusions to the fear that there had arisen a new King over England, who knew not its laws—a fear that culminated in the "Apology." The speeches themselves were usually most carefully conceived: logical, precisely structured, and, according to one comment in the *Journal,* "excellently delivered."[75] The combination of shrewd propagandist and persuasive orator was most impressive, and he soon carried great weight in the House. After the first month he had a hand in almost every debate and committee of importance, and his great influence was obviously dependent on a full awareness of all that was happening during the session. Quite apart from the careful and clever planning that went into those measures in which he had a major interest, such as the brilliant introduction of the proposal that led to the "Apology," Sandys's leadership was always to be based on much sheer hard work, which meant participation in as many proceedings as possible.

In the course of the session, therefore, his status in the House rose dramatically. When Parliament reconvened, the main concern of the M.P.'s was to be the issue with which he had been identified, the union. Moreover, Sir Robert Wroth, that great parliamentarian, died shortly after the start of the next meeting. Thus it was that when Sandys returned to the Commons late in 1605, he soon came to be regarded as possibly the most influential member in the House. His prestige among his colleagues and the general opposition to the crown were to grow for the next twenty years, as they did in 1604, side by side.

[75] *CJ,* I, 976.

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The Social Workers and the Progressive Party, 1912-1916

ALLEN F. DAVIS*

HISTORIANS have usually pictured the campaign of 1912 as an elaborate debate between the philosophies of New Nationalism and New Freedom.[1] Or they have discussed the Progressive party as if it were primarily the vehicle for the personal revolt of Theodore Roosevelt against the Republican stalwarts, rather than the climax to the progressive movement.[2] The New Nationalism-New Freedom debate, of course, is a convenient handle for those concerned with the shifting role of government in American life, and it was undeniably the personal revolt of Roosevelt that made the Progressive party possible. For a large and significant group of social workers, however, the Progressive party represented more than Roosevelt and more than a philosophical debate over the nature and role of government. Historians have often noted the strange array of supporters who rallied to the Progressive party in 1912, but they have usually underestimated the contributions of the social workers.[3]

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[1] See, e.g., Arthur Link, *American Epoch: A History of the United States since the 1890's* (New York, 1955), 122–25, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910–17* (New York, 1954), 18–22; Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann and the Progressive Era, 1900–1925* (New York, 1961), xxviii, 121 ff.; Eric Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (New York, 1953), 188–216; Harvey Wish, *Contemporary America: The National Scene since 1900* (3d ed., New York, 1961), 156–57; Arthur Mann, "The Progressive Tradition," in *The Reconstruction of American History,* ed. John Higham (New York, 1962), 162. Of course some writers like Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), 228–55, emphasize the similarities in the two branches of progressive thought. Other writers like Samuel P. Hayes, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago, 1957), 92–93, do see the Progressive party as one climax of the progressive movement.

[2] See, e.g., George Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, Wis., 1946), 220–55; Henry Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (Harvest Book ed., New York, 1956), 387–400; John M. Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 149; Hayes, *Response to Industrialism,* 92–93; Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny,* 209–10; Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912–1917* (New York, 1959), 110; Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870–1958* (East Lansing, Mich., 1959), 267–68.

[3] Blum, *Republican Roosevelt,* 149; George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, Calif., 1951), 88–89; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New

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Many of the social workers who became Progressives in 1912 were employed by charity organization societies or the Consumers' League; more were residents of social settlements. They were a diverse group, for social work in 1912 was more a cause than a profession. Some were full-time, paid executives in social work agencies, but few had taken courses in social work. Many were volunteers who gave both their money and their time; some had moved from social work to journalism or teaching. They were a diverse group, but they were united by a overriding desire to promote social justice. Most came from the major urban centers, especially Chicago and New York, and for years they had been talking and planning together at the National Conferences of Charities and Correction, at settlement conferences, and even at the meetings of the American Sociological and Economic Associations. Most of all they had become acquainted with each other as they fought for better housing laws, for shorter hours and safer working conditions, for the abolition of child labor, and for other reforms. Not all social workers were reformers by any means, but a significant group saw social reform as their primary responsibility. They had begun in the neighborhood and moved gradually to the city and state. Often they had been frustrated by uncooperative courts and politicians, but some had become experts at organizing reform and influencing elected officials. By the first decade of the twentieth century, they were convinced that reform, to be effective, had to be organized on the national level. They had helped to organize the National Child Labor Committee, the National Women's Trade Union League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They had lobbied for a federal investigation of women and children in industry and for a national child labor law.[4] They had played an important part in increasing federal government action in the area of social welfare, but they were more concerned with alleviating suffering than in debating theories. These social workers had often talked of the need for a larger reform movement, for "a great cause" to unite the various national and local reform groups. Some of them had even talked of the need for a new political party.[5]

York, 1955), 131–72; Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "The Origins of Progressive Leadership," in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed., Elting Morison (8 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1951–54), VIII, 1462–65. A few writers do mention briefly the role played by social workers in drafting the Progressive party platform. (See Hayes, *Response to Industrialism*, 93; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order: 1919–33* [Boston, 1957], 26.)

[4] Alice Henry, *Women and the Labor Movement* (New York, 1930), 109; Philip Davis, *And Crown Thy Good* (New York, 1952), 140; Mary McDowell, "The Need of a National Investigation," *Charities and The Commons*, XVII (Jan. 5, 1907), 634–36; William English Walling, "The Founding of the NAACP," *The Crisis*, XXXVI (July 1929), 226; and "Movement Under Way for an Industrial Commission," *Survey*, XXVII (Mar. 2, 1912), 1821–22.

[5] See, e.g., Jane Addams, "The Steps by Which I Became a Progressive," syndicated article [1912], Jane Addams Papers, Peace Collection, Swarthmore College; Raymond Robins to

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To many social workers, the Progressive party, made possible by Roosevelt's bolt from the Republican convention in June 1912, seemed to be the climax to twenty years of struggle for social justice; it seemed to be the great cause they had been seeking, and they played a major role in making the new party stand for social reform. They supported the party not because of Roosevelt, nor because of the New Nationalism, but because of the social and industrial planks of the Progressive party platform, which they played a large part in drafting.

The social and industrial planks of the Progressive party platform had their origin in a committee of social workers appointed at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1909.[6] Originally this national organization of social workers had been more concerned with correction than prevention, more concerned with charity than social reform. But by 1909, when Jane Addams was elected president of the organization, a large number, if not a majority, of the members stood for social reform. Certainly Paul Kellogg, the chairman of the new committee on occupational standards, was a social reformer. He had given up a job as city editor on a newspaper in his home town of Kalamazoo, Michigan, to come to New York when he was only twenty-two years old. There he quickly found a place to use his reforming zeal, as well as his organizational and editorial ability, in the fight to improve the working and living conditions in the city. He was a resident for a time at Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch's Greenwich House; he worked on the various publications of the New York Charity Organization Society and became an expert at social research. He directed the Pittsburgh Survey, the pioneer industrial investigation, and in 1912 became the editor of *Survey* magazine. Kellogg was genial and urbane; he also was a tough-minded realist and organizer who worked behind the scenes in a dozen reform movements.[7] In a preliminary report to the social work conference in 1910, he outlined the desperate need for the enforcement of reasonable standards of hours, health, safety, and wages in industry. "It is the inescapable responsibility of every member of this conference," he announced, "to contribute courageously from his experience toward the formulation of such standards in public opinion and in law."[8] In 1911 the

Margaret Robins, Feb. 3, 1910, Jan. 17, 1912, Raymond Robins Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

[6] "The Organization of the Conference, 1910," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1910), 589; Paul Kellogg, "Report of the Committee," *ibid.*, 273.

[7] Paul Kellogg obit, New York *Times*, Nov. 2, 1958; *Who's Who in America, 1952–53* (Chicago, 1952), 1321. Many of Kellogg's papers, not yet organized, are in the Survey Associates Files, New York School of Social Work.

[8] Kellogg, "Report of the Committee," 391.

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chairman of the committee was Florence Kelley, resident of Henry Street Settlement, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, and for more than twenty years the nation's leading advocate of child labor reform.

The following year when the conference met in Cleveland, Owen Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, was chairman, and Margaret Dreier Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League, was vice-chairman. In 1912 the committee decided that the time had arrived to summarize three years of investigation and discussion by formulating a program of minimum standards to help "direct public thought and secure official action."[9]

The social workers drafted a minimum platform which they called "Social Standards for Industry." Among other things they demanded an eight-hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries, a six-day week for all, the abolition of tenement manufacture, the improvement of housing conditions, the prohibition of child labor under sixteen, and the careful regulation of employment for women. They also called for a federal system of accident, old age, and unemployment insurance. These were not a list of social ideals, Lovejoy insisted, but minimum standards for any community "interested in self preservation."[10]

The National Conference of Charities and Correction adjourned on June 19, 1912, but some of the reform-minded social workers stayed on to meet informally and discuss how their minimum platform could be made relevant to the presidential campaign. One way to make their point of view count, they decided, was to go to Chicago where the Republican National Convention was already in session. John Kingsbury, general agent of the New York Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, Samuel McCune Lindsay, former director of the New York School of Philanthropy, Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, along with Kellogg and a few others, went to Chicago where they cheered for Roosevelt and presented their "Platform of Industrial Minimums" to the platform committee of the Republican party. The platform committee rejected their proposals in short order, but Roosevelt seemed interested.[11]

[9] *Proceedings of the National Congress of Charities and Correction* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1911), 148–213; *ibid.* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1912), 564; Owen Lovejoy, "Standards of Living and Labor," *ibid.*, 376.

[10] "Social Standards for Industry," *ibid.*, 388–95; Lovejoy, "Standards of Living and Labor," 376. The National Conference of Charities and Correction often appointed study committees similar to the committee on occupational standards. The reports of these committees were sometimes widely discussed, but rarely officially endorsed by the conference. The committee report of 1912 was no exception. It did not represent the official position of the conference; indeed a majority of the delegates probably would have disapproved.

[11] Paul Kellogg, "The Industrial Platform of the New Party," *Survey*, XXVIII (Aug. 24,

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Roosevelt's concern took on more meaning after his bolt from the Republican party. A small group of social workers including Henry Moskowitz, a political-minded young settlement worker who was the head resident at Madison House in New York, Kingsbury, and Kellogg traveled to Oyster Bay in mid-July to confer with Roosevelt. They gave him their proposals of minimum social standards for industry and talked about the meaning of the new Progressive party.[12] Roosevelt "took over the Cleveland program of standards of life and labor practically bodily. . . ," Kellogg later reported.[13]

There were a great many social workers on hand at the Progressive convention in Chicago a few weeks later when Roosevelt used many of their ideas in his acceptance speech. Moskowitz, who saw the address a few days before it was delivered, reported to Lillian Wald: "It's the biggest utterance along these lines ever spoken by a statesman of national influence. . . . It means something to have Lovejoy's program at the National Conference used as a political asset."[14] The platform committee of the Progressive party, which included among its members or advisers such friends of the social work group as George W. Kirchway of Columbia University, Charles Merriam of the University of Chicago, and Charles McCarthy of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, proved much more receptive to the social workers' suggestions than had the Republicans. In fact much of the "Social Standards for Industry" was taken over and incorporated into the Progressive party platform.[15]

The social workers also contributed to the religious revival atmosphere of the Chicago convention. They organized a "Jane Addams' Chorus" and joined the singing of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," but the convention was more than a revival meeting. It reminded Jane Addams of a meeting of the American Sociological Association or a Conference of Charities and Correction; she saw so many familiar faces. It was also something like a circus. A group of social workers led by Kellogg and Kingsbury had passed out red bandannas to the delegates at

1912), 668–70; Kellogg to Robins, July 10, 1912, Robins Papers; Kellogg to Addams, Feb. 9, 1929, Survey Associates Files.

[12] Moskowitz to Lillian Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, Lillian Wald Papers, New York Public Library; Kellogg to Addams, Oct. 10, 1912 (enclosing memo based on the Cleveland report which Kellogg had given to Roosevelt), Addams Papers; Kellogg to Addams, Feb. 9, 1929, Survey Associates Files.

[13] Kellogg to Addams, Feb. 9, 1929, *ibid.*, quoted in Jane Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York, 1930), 27.

[14] Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, Wald Papers; Kellogg to Addams, Feb. 9, 1929, Survey Associates Files; for the text of Roosevelt's speech, see *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Hermann Hagedorn (20 vols., New York, 1926), XVII, 254–99.

[15] Kellogg, "Industrial Platform." For the Progressive party platform, see *National Party Platforms, 1840–1956*, ed. Kirk H. Porter and Donald B. Johnson (Urbana, Ill., 1956), 175–83.

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the Republican convention in a futile attempt to cheer Roosevelt to the nomination. Now the brightly colored bandanna became the mark of a Progressive.[16]

The social workers and the others had a chance to wave their bandannas when Jane Addams, dressed simply in white, seconded the nomination of Roosevelt, and "not even the Colonel got more rousing cheers. . . ." Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey of Denver, a pioneer in the development of the juvenile court, also seconded Roosevelt's nomination; Raymond Robins, settlement worker and municipal reformer, seconded the nomination of Hiram Johnson.[17]

Roosevelt and the Progressives adopted the social workers' platform; they also endorsed woman suffrage, and the combination proved irresistible to many social workers.[18] "Just think of having all the world listen to our story of social and industrial injustice and have them told that it can be righted," one social worker remarked excitedly.[19] Another social reformer wrote: "The Roosevelt platform is tremendously attractive. . . . It embodies all the dreams and aspirations which have been a large part of our lives."[20] "The Progressive Platform contains all the things I have been fighting for for more than a decade," Jane Addams announced.[21]

Miss Addams, however, was not being quite accurate; there were some things she believed in that the Progressive party did not stand for. She believed in peace, and the Progressive platform advocated the building of two battleships each year. "I confess that I found it very difficult to swallow those two battleships," she later remarked.[22] She found it even more difficult to swallow Roosevelt's decision to prevent the seating of Negro delegates from several southern states. Despite the fact that there were Negro delegates from some northern states, Miss Addams, Moskowitz, and other social workers who had played a part in the founding of the NAACP, protested vigorously against making the Progressive party a "lily white party" in the

[16] William Allen White, *Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York, 1946), 484–85; Mary Dreier, *Life and Letters of Margaret Dreier Robins* (New York, 1952), 88–89; Addams, *Second Twenty Years*, 28–29; Kellogg to Robins, July 10, 1912, Robins Papers; New York *Times*, Aug. 6–8, 1912.

[17] William Allen White syndicated column, Chicago *Record-Herald*, Aug. 8, 1912; Chicago *Tribune*, Aug. 8, 1912; Eugene Lies to Robins, Aug. 8, 1912, Robins Papers.

[18] Telegram, Roosevelt to Addams, Aug. 9, 1912, Addams Papers. Roosevelt seems to have changed his mind about the need of woman suffrage for political reasons. (See Roosevelt to Addams, Oct. 31, 1911, *ibid.*)

[19] Dreier to Wald, n. d., Wald Papers.

[20] Stephen Wise to Wald, Aug. 24, 1912 (quoting letter he had written to Henry Morgenthau), *ibid.* Despite his enthusiasm for the platform, Wise finally supported Wilson during the campaign.

[21] "Jane Addams Tells Why," New York *Evening Post*, Aug. 8, 1912, clipping, Addams Papers.

[22] Jane Addams, "My Experiences as a Progressive Delegate," *McClure's Magazine*, XL (Nov. 1912), 13.

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South. They also fought for the inclusion of a plank recognizing the equality of the Negro, but their efforts were in vain.[23]

Despite the battleships and the failure to seat the Negro delegates, however, many social workers were tremendously excited by the new party in 1912, and many who had usually voted for the Democrats switched their allegiance to the Progressives. It was not usually the differences between the New Nationalism and New Freedom that changed their minds. Cornelia Bradford, head resident of Whittier House in Jersey City and a leader in the child labor and housing reform movements in New Jersey, had supported Woodrow Wilson for governor in 1910. She had also supported him for President in 1912 until after the Progressive convention; then suddenly she changed to the Progressives. "The platform of the third party, with the men and women supporting it; also the need for such a party must control me . . . ," she decided.[24] Lillian Wald, founder of Henry Street Settlement, was disturbed by the conservatives around Wilson, by the cold academic essays he delivered for speeches, and by the failure of the Democrats to endorse woman suffrage. Eventually she forsook the Democrats to support the Progressives.[25] Moskowitz switched his support from the Democratic party to the Progressives in part because he saw the Democrats handicapped by a reactionary South and by corrupt local leaders.[26] Robins, who had been an active campaigner for William Jennings Bryan, agreed with Moskowitz that the Democratic party was "an impossible instrument for social reform." The Roosevelt bolt from the Republican party seemed to Robins, as it seemed to many social workers, a perfect opportunity "to make a new cleavage in American political life and to unite people of common purpose all over the country in behalf of a program for economic and social justice."[27] There were some social workers in 1912, of course, who supported the Republicans, the Democrats, or the Socialists or who remained neutral during the campaign, but a great many important and vocal social workers joined the Progressive party.[28]

[23] Mowry, *Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement,* 266–69; Jane Addams, "The Progressive Party and the Negro," *The Crisis,* V (Nov. 1912), 30–31; New York *Times,* Aug. 6, 7, 1912; Mary Child Nerney to Addams, Aug. 13 1912, Addams Papers.

[24] Cornelia Bradford to Addams, Aug. 10, 1912, *ibid.*

[25] Wald to Morgenthau, Aug. 12, 1912, to Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Aug. 12, 1912, to William Hotchkiss, Nov. 15, 1912, Wald Papers. She did not actively support the Progressives until after the campaign of 1912 and then accepted a position on the New York Progressive Committee.

[26] Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, *ibid.*

[27] Robins to Clarence Barbour, Sept. 16, 1912, to Paul Strayer, Sept. 16, 1912, Robins Papers.

[28] Charles D. Hilles, superintendent of the New York Juvenile Asylum, and Otto T. Bannard, vice-president of the New York Charity Organization Society, supported the Republicans in 1912. Alice Hamilton of Hull House, Morgenthau, formerly a resident at Henry Street Settlement, in New York, supported Wilson and the Democrats. Many of the energetic young

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Despite Roosevelt's enunciations of the need for a sweeping program of social welfare legislation and despite his sympathetic cooperation with the social workers in their attempts to promote child labor and housing reform, many social workers distrusted him in 1912. It was the social and industrial planks of the platform rather than Roosevelt that appealed to most of them. Indeed they accepted the Progressive party in spite of rather than because of its fiery leader. "I look upon the movement as more important than any personality be it Roosevelt or LaFollette," Moskowitz wrote to Miss Wald.[29] Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons announced: "It is not his movement. . . . He is only one of its men. It would have come—not so fast and so far—but it would have come without him, and it will survive him."[30] "I cannot bring myself to believe in the genuineness of Mr. Roosevelt. . . ," a social worker admitted to Jane Addams.[31] Even Robins, a great admirer of Roosevelt, confessed that he wished the new party had been formed over the issue of the platform rather than over Roosevelt's failure to win the Republican nomination, but he maintained that Roosevelt's personality and motives were "unimportant in the present situation except as it helps to make the situation possible and the cleavage real."[32] "I deplore the fact of T. R.'s leadership," another settlement worker admitted, "and yet I feel that he will give an impetus to the movement which without him could not be achieved without a social upheaval."[33] Moskowitz, arguing for the support of the Progressive party, even if social workers disapproved of the candidate, said simply, "Social Reform has the services of America's first publicity man. . . ."[34]

reformers who had centered their activity at University Settlement in New York early in the century, including William English Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Robert Hunter, and Ernest Poole, supported Eugene Debs and the Socialists in 1912. Benjamin Marsh, a single taxer, pioneer city planner, and resident of Greenwich House, refused to support the Progressives because "the land question is more important than Col. Roosevelt and T. R. does not understand the land question." Edward T. Devine, of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, of Hull House and the University of Chicago, decided to remain neutral. (Kellogg, "Industrial Platform"; Marsh to Robins, July 26, 1912, Robins Papers; Breckinridge to Addams, Sept. 7, 1912, Sophonisba Breckinridge Papers, Library of Congress; Devine to Emily G. Balch [enclosed in Balch to Addams, Sept. 2, 1912], Addams Papers; David A Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* [New York, 1955], 43–61.) Many of the above were admittedly only part-time social workers.

[29] Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, Wald Papers.

[30] Graham Taylor, "The Man and Movement of the Hour," Chicago *Daily News,* Oct. 12, 1912, Taylor Daily News Scrapbook, Graham Taylor Papers, Newberry Library; Forcey, *Crossroads of Liberalism,* 151. Forcey cites a similar statement made by Croly, and then without documentation asserts that despite the statement it was the personality of Roosevelt that attracted him to the Progressive party.

[31] Jean Gordon to Addams, Aug. 10, 1912, Addams Papers.

[32] Robins to Clarence Barbour, Sept. 16, 1912, Robins Papers.

[33] Leo Arnstein to Wald, Aug. 6, 1912, Wald Papers.

[34] Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, *ibid.*

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The social workers' support of the Progressive party, however, was much more than the support of Roosevelt, no matter how good a publicity agent for reform he was. It was more than support of woman suffrage, more than a policy of business regulation or a philosophy of New Nationalism. To many social workers the Progressive party was a culmination of a crusade for social reform; it was the climax of a movement bigger than candidates and platforms.

The same social workers who played a part in turning the Progressive convention into a religious revival set to work after it was over to organize a new political party. They were idealists and crusaders, and they were even sentimental, but they also could be practical. In New York, Moskowitz, who had taken part in many local and city reform movements, led in organizing the Lower East Side in the Progressive cause. He was aided by men like Leo Arnstein, secretary of the borough of Manhattan (and once a resident of Henry Street Settlement), and Hamilton Holt, editor of the *Independent* (and for a time a resident of University Settlement). Moskowitz was not just an organizer: he was a delegate to the Progressive convention; he ran on the Progressive ticket for Congress from an East Side district; and he was a close adviser of Oscar Straus, the Progressive candidate for governor of New York.[35]

Frances Kellor, a tireless organizer with a sharp tongue, joined Moskowitz in the struggle to organize the Progressive party in New York. She had investigated employment bureaus while a settlement worker at the New York College Settlement, then had become a member of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee and secretary of the New York State Bureau of Industries and Immigration. She had investigated urban social problems, drafted legislation, and helped to lobby for bills. In 1912, like so many other social workers, she transferred her activities from social investigation to work for the Progressive party. She served on the New York State Progressive Committee and was director of the publicity and research department of the National Progressive Committee. She helped to prepare Roosevelt's labor record for use as a campaign document and drafted letters to enlist the support of women and social workers for the Progressive cause.[36]

It was not necessary to enlist many of the social work group in New

[35] J. Salwyn Schapiro, "Henry Moskowitz: A Social Reformer in Politics," *Outlook*, CII (Oct. 26, 1912), 446–49; and "Dr. Moskowitz and His Campaign," *Settlement Journal*, I (Nov. 1912), 1–3; Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, Wald Papers. Moskowitz polled 25 per cent of the vote in a losing cause.

[36] Addams to Wald, Aug. 15, 1912, Mary Dreier to Wald, n. d. [1912], Breckinridge Papers; Kellor to Addams, Aug. 19, 1912, Addams Papers; for biographical information, see *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (54 vols., New York, 1891–1959), XV, 248–49.

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York; they volunteered. Mary Dreier, president of the New York Women's Trade Union League, was a delegate to the Progressive convention and an active worker for the party in New York. Kellogg, of course, used the pages of the *Survey* and other more subtle means to advance the Progressives' cause. Walter Weyl, once a resident of University Settlement in New York and in 1912 a successful writer and author of *The New Democracy,* was a member of the Progressive National Committee and traveled with Roosevelt on a campaign tour. He spent most of his time, however, organizing a Progressive educational campaign among the immigrant population in New York. Frederick Almy, secretary of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, Folks, Lovejoy, Mary Simkhovitch, and Lindsay were all active in the Progressive campaign.[37] Then there was John Kingsbury. He was associate Progressive leader of his ward, chairman of the New York City Progressive Committee, member of the New York State Progressive Committee, and a voluntary assistant at the National Progressive headquarters. He helped draft letters to be sent to social workers and spent all his spare time campaigning or organizing for the Progressive party. He summed up the feeling of many other social workers when he remarked to Robins: "I declare I never got so completely involved in any big enterprise in so short a time, as I am involved in the Progressive Movement at this moment."[38]

In Massachusetts Philip Davis, immigrant turned settlement worker, and Robert Woods, the tall and taciturn head resident of South End House, supported the Progressive party, but the social workers were more active in Illinois.[39] Raymond and Margaret Robins, who lived by choice in a little cold-water flat midway between two settlements on Chicago's West Side, were in the middle of the whirlwind attempt to organize the Progressive party in the Midwest. Years of experience in organizing and campaigning in the Seventeenth Ward while a settlement worker at Northwestern University Settlement and Chicago Commons paid off for Robins, who joined his old friend Harold Ickes in working for Progressive organization in the state. He became a member of the Illinois Progressive Committee and chairman of the Cook County Progressive convention and took charge of much

[37] Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, Mary Dreier to Wald, n. d. [1912], Wald Papers; Kellogg to Addams, Oct. 10, 1912, Devine to Balch, Sept. 2, 1912 (enclosed in Devine to Addams, Sept. 2, 1912), Addams Papers; Almy to Robins, Sept. 19, 1912, Robins Papers; Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood: My Story of Greenwich House* (New York, 1938), 175; Forcey, *Crossroads of Liberalism,* 150.

[38] Kingsbury to Robins, July 24, Sept. 18, 1912, Robins Papers; Kingsbury to Addams, Aug. 15, 1912, Addams Papers.

[39] Davis, *And Crown Thy Good,* 220 ff.; Eleanor Woods, *Robert A. Woods: Champion of Democracy* (Boston, 1929), 257–58; Robert Woods to Addams, Aug. 15, 1912, Addams Papers.

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of the Progressive organization and campaign outside of Chicago. He was in close touch with the National Progressive Committee and on several occasions was called away from Illinois to make speeches in other parts of the country. "I have never before in politics felt that I was standing upon more than half truths and advancing other than uncertain political fortunes," Robins wrote in the middle of the campaign. "Now I am sure that the whole result of this struggle shall be for the social welfare and moral strength of the country."[40]

Margaret Dreier Robins was a member of the executive committee of the Illinois Progressive party, a candidate on the Progressive ticket for trustee of the University of Illinois, and an active campaigner for the Progressive party throughout the Midwest.[41] George Hooker, secretary of the Chicago City Club and a resident of Hull House, was a candidate for presidential elector on the Progressive ticket. Graham Taylor, who remained dubious about the advisability of a Progressive ticket on the state level, supported the Progressive platform through his weekly editorials in the Chicago *Daily News*. Mary McDowell, head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement, was also a member of the Illinois Progressive Committee. Harriet Vittum, head resident of Northwestern University Settlement, Mrs. Joseph Bowen, a long-time friend of Hull House, Edith and Grace Abbott, and many others helped when they could. Few of those close to the settlement movement in Chicago remained untouched by the Progressive crusade.[42]

Despite the dedication of all the other social workers, Jane Addams was the most famous and in many ways the most effective social worker in the 1912 Progressive campaign. She did much more than second Roosevelt's nomination at the convention. She was a member of the National Progressive Committee, the Illinois State Progressive Committee, and the Cook County Progressive Committee. She also wrote a series of six articles, syndicated in newspapers across the country, to attract attention to the Progressive party platform.[43] During the last month of the campaign, she covered thousands

[40] Quotation from Robins to Barbour, Sept. 16, 1912, Robins to Addams, Aug. 22, 1912, George Cole to Robins, Margaret Robins to Robins, June 21, 1912, Ickes to Robins, July 17, Oct. 18, 1912, Robins Papers.

[41] Dreier, *Margaret Dreier Robins*, 89–91; Margaret Robins to Addams, Oct. 31, 1912, Addams Papers; Raymond Robins to Strayer, Sept. 16, 1912, Robins Papers.

[42] Margaret Robins to Addams, Oct. 31, 1912, Taylor Papers; Taylor to Addams, Aug. 20, 1912, Mary McDowell to Addams, Aug. 16, 1912, Addams Papers; Taylor to Daniel Howe, Oct. 9, 1912, Taylor Papers; Graham Taylor, "Humanizing Politics," *Survey*, XXIX (Oct. 5, 1912), 10–11.

[43] Addams to Breckinridge, July 19, Sept. 5, 1912, Breckinridge Papers; Addams to Ickes, Sept. 27, 1912, Harold Ickes Papers, Library of Congress; MSS articles by Addams: "The Progressive Party and the Needs of Children," "The Progressive Party and the Protection of

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of miles in a speaking tour that sometimes called for as many as three speeches a day. She spoke in New York, Boston, and all the major cities of the Midwest; she went as far south as Oklahoma and spent the last few days before the election in Denver and Kansas City. But she was still able to satisfy only a small percentage of the requests that poured in asking for her presence during the campaign. One of the other Progressive campaigners remarked: "Wherever I went I heard nothing but talk of Jane Addams, I suppose other political speakers had been out there, but you never would have guessed it from what people had to say."[44]

Perhaps Jane Addams' biggest contribution to the Progressive party was the example she set for other women and social workers. As the most famous woman in America in 1912, her open and active support of the Progressive party was an important factor in attracting votes and the support of those who could not vote.[45] But Jane Addams was more than a figurehead or a prize display. Partly because the press always gave her addresses top billing, she was often chosen to make rejoinders to Democratic attacks. Her support of the Progressives attracted so much attention that the Democratic National Committee tried to persuade Lillian Wald to come out publicly in support of Wilson "to counteract Jane Addams' support of the Progressive Party."[46]

Sometimes during her long career Jane Addams had been criticized for being too cautious and too careful and not willing enough to commit herself in a reform movement.[47] She did not hesitate in 1912. "I never doubted for a moment that my place was inside, where there was a chance to help on such a program as this one," she wrote to Lillian Wald during the campaign.[48] And she never lost her enthusiasm; on one occasion after six consecutive nights on the train she returned to Hull House weary and uncomfortable, but she stayed up half the night regaling the Hull House residents with her campaign experiences.[49]

Immigrants," "The Progressive Party and the Class of Disinherited," "The Progressive Party and Safeguards for Working Girls," "The Progressive Party and Organized Labor," "The Progressive Party and Woman's Suffrage," Addams Papers.

[44] Chairman of the Speakers Bureau to Addams, Oct. 2, 1912 (enclosing itinerary for her speaking tour), Addams Papers; Breckinridge to Mrs. Aleck Twedie, Oct. 8, 1912, William Kent to Addams, Aug. 14, 1912, Breckinridge Papers; Anna Howard Shaw, "Campaigning for Suffrage in the West," *The American* (Trenton, N. J.), clipping, n. d., Addams Papers.

[45] Lies to Addams, Aug. 8, 1912, E. Wellington Dye to Addams, Aug. 13, 1912, McDowell to Addams, Aug. 16, 1912, *ibid.*

[46] Kellogg to Addams, Oct. 10, 1912, *ibid.*; Morgenthau to Wald, Aug. 8, 1912, Wald to Morgenthau, Aug. 12, 1912, Wald Papers. Wald refused to support Wilson publicly.

[47] She probably received the most criticism for her refusal to take a stand in the school board crisis in Chicago in 1907. (See Allen F. Davis, "Raymond Robins: The Settlement Worker as Municipal Reformer," *Social Service Review*, XXXIII [June 1959], 131–41.)

[48] Addams to Wald, Aug. 15, 1912, Wald Papers.

[49] Edith Abbott, "Grace Abbott of Hull House, 1908–1921," *Social Service Review*, XXIV (Dec. 1950), 504.

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Although most social workers admired and supported Jane Addams' active participation in the Progressive campaign, there were some who disapproved. Edward T. Devine announced in the *Survey* that it is "the first political duty of social workers to be persistently and aggressively nonpartisan, to maintain such relations with men of social goodwill in all parties as will insure their cooperation in specific measures for the promotion of the common good. . . ."[50] Taylor, although he thought differently in 1912, decided a few years later that by taking part in a partisan campaign Jane Addams had "lost the heeding if not the hearing of the whole city which she had before. . . ."[51]

Jane Addams' bitterest critic during the campaign was Mabel Boardman, president of the National Red Cross. "The great moral questions for whose furtherance the country owes a debt of gratitude to Miss Addams," Miss Boardman announced, "should not be handicapped by the limitations of party affiliation nor trammelled by becoming involved in the bitterness of controversies over candidates and utterly irrelevant policies."[52] To Jane Addams, however, and to a great many other social workers in 1912, working for the Progressive party was not the same as taking part in an ordinary political campaign; it was the natural result and culmination of years of struggle for social and economic justice. The issues were far from irrelevant. "When the ideas and measures we have long been advocating become part of a political campaign. . . ," Jane Addams wrote, "would we not be the victims of a curious self-consciousness if we failed to follow them there?"[53]

Despite the way Jane Addams and the other social workers threw themselves into the Progressive campaign, few had any illusions about the outcome of the election. They joked about moving to Washington, but they knew they could not win. "I shall be very happy if Wilson comes in first and Roosevelt second. . . ," Moskowitz admitted, and most of the social workers agreed with him. They viewed the campaign as a great chance to educate the public and sometimes compared the Progressive party in 1912 to the Republicans in 1856. They expected to replace the Republicans as the Republicans had replaced the Whigs and to win in 1916 as the Republicans had won in 1860.[54]

[50] Edward T. Devine, "Politics and Social Work," *Survey*, XXIX (Oct. 5, 1912), 9. Addams took Devine's article as a personal criticism, but Devine denied that he meant his statement to apply to her. In a letter to Emily Greene Balch he virtually contradicted his article. "I have the greatest admiration for the manner in which Miss Addams is throwing herself into the Progressive campaign. . . ." (Devine to Balch, Sept. 2, 1912 [enclosed in Devine to Addams, Sept. 2, 1912], Addams Papers.)

[51] Taylor to John Gavit, Oct. 16, 1916, Taylor Papers; cf. Taylor to Addams, Aug. 20, 1912, Addams Papers.

[52] New York *Sun*, Aug. 18, 1912, clipping, *ibid.*

[53] Jane Addams, "Pragmatism in Politics," *Survey*, XXIX (Oct. 5, 1912), 12.

[54] Quotation from Moskowitz to Wald, Aug. 2, 1912, Mary Dreier to Wald, n.d. [1912],

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The social workers were convinced that the election of 1912 was merely the first step in a long educational campaign and the beginning of a new political era. This conviction led them to increased efforts to organize the Progressive party after the results of the election were in.[55] They poured most of their energy into building an elaborate organization that they called the National Progressive Service.

The Progressive Service was designed to apply the principles and techniques of social work and social research to the organization of a political party, especially to separate the tasks of writing platforms, drafting laws, and educating voters from the more mundane job of electing individuals to office.[56] Frances Kellor, the principal author of the elaborate plan, defined its major purpose as an attempt "to bring the interest, enthusiasm and organization of the progressive movement into the service of the people to be used by them for their welfare and advancement." Jane Addams argued for the acceptance of the Progressive Service idea at the meeting of the National Progressive Committee on December 10, 1912, and, despite the hostility and skepticism of some of the politicians, the committee voted to allow the social workers to go ahead with their plans.[57]

The Progressive Service was divided into two bureaus and four departments, each with many subdivisions designed to increase the Progressive party's contact with the people and implement the social justice planks of its platform. Gifford Pinchot directed a Department of Conservation, George Record, a Department of Popular Government, Charles Bird, a Department of Living and Corporation Control, and Jane Addams, a Department of Social and Industrial Justice. Donald Richberg headed a Legislative Reference Bureau to coordinate all the information gathered by the other departments and to supervise the drafting of progressive bills on both the state and national levels. A Speakers Bureau sent out speakers and propaganda all over the country.[58]

Wald Papers; Addams, "Pragmatism in Politics," 12; Kellogg to Kingsbury, July 1, 1912, Survey Associates Files; Robins to Barbour, Sept. 16, 1912, Robins Papers; Donald R. Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty* (New York, 1930), 38.

[55] Addams, *Second Twenty Years*, 40–41; Taylor to Howe, Oct. 9, 1912, Taylor Papers; Notes for Address, n.d. [after the election, 1912], Robins Papers.

[56] Frances Kellor, "A New Spirit in Party Organization," *North American Review*, CXIX (June 1914), 835; Addams, *Second Twenty Years*, 40–41; Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty*, 40.

[57] Quotation from Kellor, MS article, "Something New in Politics," enclosed in Kellor to Addams, Dec. 24, 1912, Addams Papers; Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty*, 40–41; *The Progressive Service of the National Progressive Party* [pamphlet] (New York, 1913).

[58] *The Progressive Service of the National Progressive Party;* Addams, *Second Twenty Years*, 40–41; see also John A. Garraty, *Right-Hand Man: The Life of George W. Perkins* (New York, 1960), 296.

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Miss Kellor was chief of the entire Progressive Service, and Jane Addams was one of the members of the general committee. Jane Addams, Walter Weyl, and Benjamin Lindsey were on the Legislative Reference Bureau, and members of the social work group were scattered throughout the entire organization. But it was in the various branches of Jane Addams' Department of Social and Industrial Justice that most social workers found a place to continue their political activity. Moskowitz was chairman of the subcommittee on men's labor, of which Raymond Robins was a member. Mary McDowell was chairman of a subcommittee on women's labor that included Margaret Robins and Edith Abbott. Emily Greene Balch, Grace Abbott, and Jacob Riis were members of a committee on immigration, of which Miss Kellor temporarily took the chairmanship. Kellogg headed a committee on social insurance; Almy was among its members.[59]

The National Progressive Service encouraged states, counties, cities, and even towns to set up Progressive Service organizations. In Illinois Jane Addams, Mary McDowell, Graham Taylor, and Mrs. Joseph Bowen were among the group that formed an active state Progressive Service. By 1914 twenty-one states had Progressive Service organizations in varying degrees of activity.[60] For a time after the election it seemed as if defeat had infused new vigor into the Progressive organization.

The social workers' enthusiasm after the election even attracted a few who had not been active during the campaign. Katharine Coman, a Wellesley professor and frequent resident and long-time friend of Denison House in Boston, resigned her professorship and offered her services to the Progressive party. "In this one cause seems to be embodied most of the interests that are dearest to me . . . ," she wrote to Jane Addams.[61] Lillian Wald, who had remained silent during the campaign, quickly became an active Progressive after the election. Partly because of the pressure exerted by Moskowitz and other settlement workers, she accepted a position on the New York Legislative Reference Committee. She also became a member of the executive committee of the New York State Progressive party, an advisory member of the New York State Progressive party, and a member of the immigration committee in Jane Addams' department of the Progressive Service.[62]

For a few months the social workers threw themselves into the task of

[59] Progressive Service form letter, Jan. 16, 1913; Kellogg to Mrs. Joseph Bowen, Apr. 12, 1913; memo, "Progressive Service," n.d. [1913], Addams Papers.

[60] Memo, Jan. 18, 1913, *ibid.*; Kellor, "New Spirit in Party Organization," 887; Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty*, 41.

[61] Katharine Coman to Addams, Jan. 1, 6, 1913, Addams Papers.

[62] *Settlement Journal*, I (Nov. 1912), 3; Wald to Hotchkiss, Nov. 15, 1912, to Francis Bird, Mar. 7, 1913, Wald Papers.

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organizing the Progressive Service, writing briefs, reports, letters, and speeches and looking ahead hopefully to 1914 and the congressional elections. In the spring of 1913 Kellogg, Kellor, and Lindsay traveled to Washington to confer with progressives from all parties. They agreed upon a limited program of "well thought out national bills that would include accident compensation, child labor and an eight-hour day for women." When Wilson appointed an Industrial Relations Commission in the summer of 1913, a committee from the Progressive Service submitted a list of industrial problems that needed investigation. But little came of their efforts, and gradually some of the enthusiasm began to die.[63]

Even as the social workers enthusiastically organized the Progressive Service, they saw some ominous signs. They worried about the men Roosevelt seemed to turn to for advice. "Defeat has thrown him clear back into the lap of the most conservative counselors of our party . . . ," Kingsbury decided early in 1913.[64] They worried especially about the growing power and influence of George Perkins, a partner in J. P. Morgan and Company, organizer of the International Harvester Company, and controversial Progressive party leader. The social workers had been observers rather than participants in the bitter struggle over the antitrust planks in the Progressive party platform. Regulating trusts did not seem as vital to most of them as legislating social justice, but the legacy of resentment and hate toward Perkins had its effect even on the social workers.[65] They were not as bitter as Amos and Gifford Pinchot, who immediately after the election demanded that Roosevelt ask Perkins to resign, but most social workers found themselves ideologically much closer to the Pinchots than to Perkins.[66] A few days before Christmas, 1912, a group of New York social workers, including Folks, Kellogg, Kingsbury, and Lindsay, met with George Record and Amos Pinchot and agreed that the Progressive party ought to stand for the public ownership of utilities as well as for the social justice planks.[67] The New York group of Progressives, including many social workers, met several times in the next few weeks to attempt to outline a program and map a strategy that would overcome Perkins' influence on Roosevelt. They agreed, however, that "The Colonel has become suspicious of the whole social

[63] Kellogg to Mrs. Bowen, Apr. 12, 1913, Kellor to Kellogg, July 17, 1913, Addams Papers; Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty,* 42.

[64] Kingsbury to Addams, Jan. 17, 1913, Addams Papers.

[65] Kingsbury to Addams, Dec. 23, 1912, *ibid.;* Robins to Kellor, Nov. 20, 1913, Robins Papers; see Garraty, *Right-Hand Man,* 285–308.

[66] Kingsbury to Addams, Dec. 23, 1912, Jan. 17, 1913, Addams Papers; see also Mowry, *Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement,* 291–94; Amos Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party, 1912–16* (New York, 1958), 182–225.

[67] Kingsbury to Addams, Dec. 23, 1912, Addams Papers.

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worker crowd except Jane Addams, and he is afraid of her, and we must depend on her to save the situation."[68]

Jane Addams, however, was unwilling to try to save the situation if it meant becoming involved in a factional struggle within the party. Several times in the next two years Miss Addams tried to resign from her positions in the Progressive Service organization and from the executive committee of the Progressive party. But "the extreme wing," which felt that she was "the greatest asset which the real Progressive cause has at this time," would not hear of her resignation. Jane Addams remained on the Progressive committees, but she devoted less and less time to the party and to the Progressive Service.[69]

The personal squabbles and factional strife even affected the Progressive Service organization. Richberg and others resented the strict control and petty rules enforced on the organization by Miss Kellor. Even Raymond Robins had to admit in the spring of 1914 that the Progressive Service was "over organized"; what was really needed, Robins decided, was "organization from the precincts up."[70] More than any other social worker, Robins tried to prevent the Progressive party from dissolving into factions. He urged Miss Kellor to remember that "Mr. Perkins is the most important and powerful single personality in our movement [besides Roosevelt]; it is necessary for us to come to an understanding with him."[71] A short time later he was advising Roosevelt to insist that Perkins resign from either his positions on the board of directors of United States Steel and International Harvester or from his position in the Progressive party.[72] Roosevelt refused to ask Perkins to resign, and probably classified most of the social workers in the "lunatic fringe" of the movement, but he did attempt to smooth the differences between Perkins and the social workers. On one occasion in 1913 he reminded Perkins that the social and industrial plank of the Progressive platform ("our best plank, the plank which has really given our party its distinctive character . . .") had been drafted by the social workers. "They are doing literally invaluable work and I want you to know this and to take it into account when dealing with them."[73] The attempts of Robins and

[68] Kingsbury to Addams, Jan. 17, 1913, *ibid.*

[69] Kingsbury to Addams, Dec. 23, 1912, William Draper Lewis to Addams, Feb. 17, 1914, Ickes to Addams, Apr. 19, 1914, Addams Papers; Addams to Robins, Feb. 20, 1914, telegram, Kellor to Robins, n.d. [1913], Robins Papers.

[70] Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty,* 48; Garraty, *Right-Hand Man,* 298–300; Robins to Addams, Mar. 9, 1914, to Perkins, Mar. 9, 1914, Robins Papers.

[71] Robins to Kellor, Sept. 13, 1913, *ibid.*

[72] Robins to Roosevelt, Aug. 3, 1914, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress.

[73] Roosevelt to Robins, Aug. 13, 1914, to Perkins, Aug. 23, 1913, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* ed. Morison, VII, 767, 742–43.

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Roosevelt to smooth the differences between the social workers and the Perkins wing of the party and to prevent the outbreak of factional strife had little effect. The Progressive party seemed less and less like the climax to a lifetime struggle for social justice, and many social workers, following Jane Addams' example, slowly drifted away. A large group began to turn toward the Democrats, in part because Wilson was demonstrating that the Democratic party could stand for social reform.[74]

Robins was still not convinced by Wilson; he ran for the Senate on the Progressive ticket in Illinois in 1914, but, like most Progressives in 1914, he went down to defeat.[75] Robins and a few others stayed on to officiate at the burial of the Progressive party in 1916, but it was obvious to most social workers by late 1913 or at least by 1914 that they had failed to create a new political alignment. Their first reaction was one of disillusionment.[76] They did not cease to be reformers, but they became more cautious, less optimistic, and after August 1914 much more interested in international affairs. World War I did not end the progressive movement, but it altered the goals of the reformers and shifted their interest to the international scene.[77] One reason why the social workers were ready in 1914 to enlarge their focus was because their dream of a Progressive party built on a platform of industrial justice had collapsed. The dream collapsed, but it had been important; it was much more to the social workers than personal loyalty to Roosevelt and much more than a theoretical attachment to the New Nationalism.

[74] "Social Workers and the Extra Session," *Survey,* XXX (Apr. 5, 1913), 3–4; "Governor Wilson and the Social Workers," *ibid.,* XXIX (Feb. 8, 1913), 639–40. Many social workers remained dubious about Wilson until 1916 when he finally supported a national child labor bill. (Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* [Princeton, N. J., 1956], 255–57, and *American Epoch,* 134; see also "Why Wilson: A Statement by Social Workers," Oct. 1916, and Addams to Kellogg, Aug. 10, Oct. 25, 1916, Survey Associates Files.)

[75] Robins to Weyl, Sept. 19, 1914, to Taylor, Nov. 7, 1914, Robins Papers.

[76] "Address of Raymond Robins as Temporary Chairman of the Progressive National Convention," June 7, 1916, McDowell to Robins, June 11, 1916, Addams to Robins, Feb. 20, 1914, *ibid.;* Addams to Kellogg, Aug. 10, 1916, Addams statement concerning her support of Wilson, Oct. 1916, Survey Associates Files; Taylor to Gavit, Oct. 16, 1916, Taylor Papers.

[77] Wald to William D. Howells, Sept. 22, 1914, Kellogg to Addams, Sept. 11, 1914, Sept. 15, 1915, Bradford to Addams, Jan. 17, 1914, Addams Papers; Addams to Kellogg, Nov. 1, 1915, July 12, 1916, Survey Associates Files; John Haynes Holmes, "War and the Social Movement," *Survey,* XXXII (Sept. 26, 1914), 629–30; Edward T. Devine, "Civilization's Peril," *ibid.,* XXXIII (Feb. 6, 1915), 518–19; Paul Kellogg, "To the Unfinished Work," *ibid.,* XLII (July 5, 1919), 513–14. Some social workers continued to work for reform in the 1920's; see Clarke A. Chambers, "Creative Effort in an Age of Normalcy," *The Social Welfare Forum* (New York, 1961), 252–71.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Archival Product of a Century of Federal Assistance to Agriculture

HAROLD T. PINKETT*

IN his first annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861, President Lincoln expressed the regret that "Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation," had neither a department nor a bureau in the federal government but only a "clerkship." He therefore suggested that an "agricultural and statistical bureau" should be organized for the benefit of this great interest and the "general advantage" of the United States. Along with other influences, notably the rising demand of farmers for greater recognition of their enterprise and the trend toward greater federal authority accelerated by the Civil War, Lincoln's suggestion ushered in a new era of American public policy toward agriculture. On May 15, 1862, he signed an act to establish the United States Department of Agriculture and on May 20 and July 2, respectively, two other epoch-making agricultural acts: the Homestead Act and Land Grant College Act.

The response of the federal government to agricultural interests has enabled agriculture's clerkship of Lincoln's time to expand to a Department of Agriculture which in 1963 employed approximately 100,000 persons in some 16 "services," "administrations," "corporations," and other major administrative divisions. Since that time, moreover, the farmer's interests have been promoted by several bureaus administered by other departments of the federal government. In the broadest possible sense, of course, assistance to agriculture could be considered to have been provided by all federal bureaus whose work benefits to some degree the farm community. Such a concept is not consistent with the usual interpretation of federal assistance to agriculture and is too broad for descriptive purposes in this article. Hence the term federal assistance

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as used herein is considered to mean special services and grants provided by the federal government, especially the Department of Agriculture, primarily or largely for agricultural enterprise and rural life.

This aid came slowly and in limited fields during the first three decades after 1862. It advanced markedly and broadly during the first two decades of the twentieth century and has attained its greatest range since 1933. This increasing assistance has been caused by a great variety of changing conditions and new views concerning the economic and social prerequisites of agricultural prosperity and national welfare. Economic depressions, organized agrarian protest, land utilization and population changes, fluctuating markets, and changing relations between the federal and state governments have profoundly altered American agricultural life and created new demands for federal action. Response to the demands has brought expanding programs to improve the production and marketing of farm commodities, protect and develop natural resources, provide agricultural credit, improve rural living conditions, and bolster farm income. Accompanying this increased aid have been a growing recognition of the interdependence of rural and urban welfare and the adoption of programs for the protection of both.[1]

The multifarious activities conducted by the federal government to assist agriculture have produced vast quantities of records that are useful sources for studies of varied aspects of American life and history. Unfortunately many of the records of the Department of Agriculture concerning the first thirty years of its operations apparently were destroyed. As early as 1877, William G. LeDuc, Commissioner of Agriculture, stated: "The letters and papers of the Department previous to my induction into office were not filed in regular order nor were they kept any great length of time for purposes of reference."[2] This lack of systematic preservation of records in the Department of Agriculture continued several years even beyond 1889 when it achieved presidential cabinet status. The resultant archival deficiency for these early years, however, is partially offset by papers of some federal Commissioners and Secretaries of Agriculture and agricultural scientists that have been preserved by state and private organizations and are available for

[1] For detailed accounts of the history of the US Department of Agriculture, see Gladys L. Baker *et al., Century of Service, the First 100 Years of the United States Department of Agriculture* (Washington, D. C., 1963); and John M. Gaus and Leon O. Wolcott, *Public Administration and the United States Department of Agriculture* (Chicago, 1940). The best account of the origins and development of all major operations of the federal government in the field of agriculture is Murray R. Benedict's *Farm Policies of the United States, 1790–1950* (New York, 1953).

[2] Letter of Commissioner LeDuc to Edward Hickey, Nov. 23, 1879, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, National Archives [hereafter cited as NA].

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research use.[3] The seriousness of the deficiency is also lessened by the existence of detailed publications concerning the early activities and interests of the Department. With the turn of the century and the beginning of a great expansion of its research and regulatory work the Department began to preserve its records with much greater regularity. By April 1963, about 36,000 cubic feet of the Department's records had been transferred to the National Archives, Washington, D. C., as material of enduring research value and historical interest. There had also been transferred several thousand cubic feet of records of other federal agencies that have provided special services and grants for agricultural purposes.[4]

Records in the National Archives and those scheduled to be received therein cover all phases of federal assistance to agriculture for a century and constitute the largest extant collection of primary source material on this subject. They deal with farming, together with accompanying rurality, the main way of life in America for more than two and one-half centuries. "The vast maze of forces and conditions that have entered into the evolution of rural life," in the words of an eminent agricultural historian, "constitute [*sic*], therefore, a central theme in the history of the American people."[5] The records help to document an activity that has long been considered fundamental to the life of the nation and has often evoked words of tribute such as those of Woodrow Wilson: "Our thoughts may ordinarily be concentrated upon the cities and the hives of industry, upon the cries of the market place and the clangor of the factory, but it is from the quiet interspaces of the

[3] See Harold T. Pinkett, "Early Records of the U. S. Department of Agriculture," *American Archivist,* XXV (Oct. 1962), 407–16.

[4] A brief description of records transferred to the National Archives through June 30, 1947, is given in the *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (Washington, D. C., 1948). Records transferred after that date are listed in the publication *National Archives Accessions,* beginning with No. 31. In each of these publications the unit of description is the "record group," which usually consists of the records of a single agency (and its predecessors) at the bureau level in the administrative hierarchy of the federal government, such as the Federal Extension Service, Rural Electrification Administration, or Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. Published "preliminary inventories," which have been prepared for many of the record groups, contain information concerning the history and functions of the agencies that accumulated the records and descriptions of the records series by series, that is, by units of records of the same form or that deal with the same subject or activity or that are arranged serially. Each inventory series entry normally includes information about the inclusive dates, quantity, subject matter, and arrangement of the records. The inventories also contain, in some instances, lists of significant file subject headings and outlines of file classification schemes. Those describing particular groups of records mentioned in this article are cited in other footnotes. Estimates of quantity are given in cubic feet, which one may visualize perhaps more concretely by considering one cubic foot as one-half the contents of a full legal-size file drawer. There are few restrictions on the use of these records for research purposes. However, for details concerning restrictions, finding aids, reproduction services, and other information about the use of records, prospective searchers are urged to write to the National Archives before visiting it for extensive research.

[5] Everett E. Edwards, "Agricultural Records; Their Nature and Value for Research," *Agricultural History,* XIII (Jan. 1939), 1.

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open valleys and the free hillsides that we draw the sources of life and of prosperity."[6]

Potential research uses of this archival material can be illustrated in several ways. For example, it provides substantial documentation of the work and interests of more than one hundred agriculturists, scientists, and government executives accorded sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. For about one-third of these persons it constitutes probably the principal source of unpublished information. Many other distinguished persons honored by the *DAB* and other biographical compilations were frequent correspondents of federal agricultural bureaus and thereby contributed significant letters to the archives of these bureaus. The research potentialities of the archives in question are further illustrated by the fact that they could provide useful data on varied aspects of more than half of the fifty-five general titles of articles included in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. In fact it is doubtful that any serious interest, important event, or significant condition in American farming, agricultural sciences, or rural life during the first half of the twentieth century is not documented to some degree in federal archives.[7]

The archival product of the response of the federal government to agricultural interests was accumulated by more than thirty principal offices or bureaus, many of which were the outgrowth of several organizational changes. It resulted from the performance of functions that may be grouped broadly, without regard to administrative control and vicissitudes, under the following headings: distribution of land, reclamation of land, crop production research, insect research and control, livestock production research and protection, crop utilization research, farm economics research, agricultural marketing research and regulation, conservation services, agricultural education, rural credit services, and agricultural production stabilization. Supervision and coordination of these functions are shown extensively in the records of the Offices of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior. Created at a high level in federal administration, these records deal importantly with policy, organization, and planning rather than with the details of the performance of the foregoing functions. However, they often show in microcosm major conditions and problems that have brought federal assistance to the farmer and results of particular phases of this assistance.[8]

[6] *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Ray S. Baker and William E. Dodd (6 vols., New York, 1925–27), I, 73.

[7] For a brief statement of some of the research potentialities and results of the use of varied record groups, see Harold T. Pinkett, "Records in the National Archives as Sources for Research in the Social Sciences," *Social Studies*, XLIII (Apr. 1952), 147–51.

[8] The principal correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1893–1956, amounting to approximately two thousand cubic feet, are described in a preliminary check

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The distribution of public land was one of the earliest efforts made by the federal government to promote rural settlement and agricultural production. As early as March 3, 1817, Congress passed a law granting land in Alabama to a group of French immigrants for the purpose of and on condition of their "encouragement and cultivation of the Vine and the Olive." This action and more systematic efforts made mainly under the Homestead Act of 1862 and subsequent land laws did not benefit agricultural enterprise as much as its supporters had hoped. However, federal homestead policy had great appeal for farmers and prospective farmers in established American communities and even in foreign lands. It promoted a great wave of western settlement and advanced the frontier of American farming. "All the world knew," states Ray Billington, "that a bountiful government would award honest enterprise with priceless grants, and if hopeful homeseekers found only sordid speculation at the end of their rainbow, they nevertheless stayed on to break the plains."[9]

In the wake of this advancing agricultural frontier there were by 1890 more than a hundred federal district land offices, many of them at famous sites in the saga of western settlement. Over these offices was the busy and overburdened General Land Office in Washington. Voluminous records con-

list and a subject list. For a summary of the check list, see Guy A. Lee, "The General Records of the United States Department of Agriculture in the National Archives," *Agricultural History,* XIX (Oct. 1945), 242–49. Correspondence of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, consisting of divisional files, 1849–1907, and central subject files, 1907–1953, amount to approximately three thousand cubic feet. Several unpublished lists available to searchers contain useful information concerning the subject matter and arrangement of these files. Another useful guide is Preliminary Inventory No. 81, *Cartographic Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D. C., 1955). Records of these departmental heads, who have been responsible for the administration of major agricultural programs, are often supplemented significantly for some agricultural studies by the personal papers of Presidents of the United States preserved mainly by the Library of Congress and the presidential libraries administered by the National Archives. For general information concerning research use of these papers, see Buford Rowland, "The Papers of the Presidents," *American Archivist,* XIII (July 1950), 195–211; and Richard S. Kirkendall, "Presidential Libraries—One Researcher's Point of View," *ibid.,* XXV (Oct. 1962), 441–48. Permission to use unrestricted presidential and related historical papers may be obtained by making advance written application to the directors of the libraries at these locations: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York; Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri; Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas; and Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa. Although records of the executive branch of the federal government provide the most comprehensive documentation of federal assistance to agriculture, those of the legislative branch sometimes deal importantly with this subject. Records of the US Senate, 1789–1956, and House of Representatives, 1789–1952 (each amounting to approximately ten thousand cubic feet), in the National Archives, include bills, resolutions, journals, minutes, reports, petitions, memorials, and maps. These documents, many of which do not appear in congressional publications, illuminate the legislative background of agricultural programs and the steady growth of authorizations and appropriations for these programs. For details concerning the subject matter, arrangement, and use of congressional records, see Preliminary Inventory No. 23, *Records of the United States Senate* (Washington, D. C., 1950), and No. 113, *Records of the United States House of Representatives* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1959).

[9] Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1949), 702.

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cerning the activities of these offices document the disposal of some one billion acres of public land for agricultural and other purposes. They include survey plats and field notes showing physiographic conditions and the pattern of settlement on the advancing frontier; land entry papers and tract books containing information about "entrymen" (land applicants) and public land sites; and correspondence concerning varied phases of federal land policy and management. Robert W. Harrison, an agricultural economist of the Department of the Interior who recently made an informative description of public land records of the federal government, indicates that their tremendous volume and special characteristics have caused them to receive "far less use by historians than their content warrants."[10] With some study, barriers to their research use can be surmounted, Harrison points out, and the records are then found to be useful sources for studies of western settlement, internal improvements, transportation, agriculture, mining, and some phases of federal-state relations.

By the close of the nineteenth century the liberal land-grant policy adopted in 1862 had brought the disposal of most of the arable land in the public domain. Hence, beginning in 1902 the federal government was persuaded to undertake the reclamation of vast arid regions that remained open for entry. Within the next fifty years projects supervised by the Interior Department brought water and agriculture to millions of acres of western land and began to provide hydroelectric power, greater sources of domestic and industrial water supply, and broader flood control. General administrative and project records of the Department's Bureau of Reclamation provide basic data for evaluation of a federal policy lauded by Harold L. Ickes for its role "in knitting together the Western third of the nation, in sustaining the people, in stabilizing the agriculture of the far Western States, and in moderating the effects of droughts and similar disasters."[11] Project histories, reports, photographs, and maps tell the saga of giant impoundings of water at reclamation projects in seventeen western states.[12] These projects exemplify some of America's greatest achievements in comprehensive river basin development and some of man's most ambitious efforts to harness powerful natural forces for productive use.

[10] Robert W. Harrison, "Public Land Records of the Federal Government," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLI (Sept. 1954), 277. Archives of the General Land Office and its successor, the Bureau of Land Management, 1796–1951, amount to more than thirty thousand cubic feet, important parts of which are described in Preliminary Inventory No. 22, *The Land-Entry Papers of the General Land Office* (Washington, D. C., 1949), and several unpublished lists.

[11] US Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D. C., 1936), 54.

[12] See Preliminary Inventory No. 109, *Records of the Bureau of Reclamation* (Washington, D. C., 1958), which describes 2,089 cubic feet of the bureau's records for the years 1891–1951.

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Government construction of irrigation works under Interior Department auspices was preceded and later accompanied by its assistance to private irrigation efforts through the Agriculture Department. In the latter situation, studies, beginning in the 1890's, were made of water uses to promote the enactment of better state water laws and to advise farmers concerning the water requirements of crops and the best methods of supplying the requirements. An early leader in this work was Elwood Mead, who was to become commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation and perhaps America's greatest irrigation engineer. Agriculture Department records concerning these irrigation studies reveal striking examples of the problems and achievements in the progressive use of irrigation on some twenty million acres of American farm lands. Conducted concurrently with this technical assistance to irrigation farmers was aid by government agricultural engineers to owners of swamplands. This consisted of advice on drainage methods and cooperation in the preparation of better state drainage legislation.[13] A closely related effort was the flood control work of the United States Army engineers in the nation's great river valleys and elsewhere for the protection of rural and urban communities. Correspondence and project reports concerning this drainage and flood control work tell much about efforts that have added several million acres of fertile swampland to the tillable area of many states. They also show mistakes often made in the planning and utilization of drained areas and depict continuing land use problems in the Mississippi River bottoms, wet lands of the southern coastal plains, and other alluvial regions.[14]

While American agriculture was being nourished by land grants and reclamation projects, it was stimulated by plant investigations which were to flower into the broadest program of crop production research ever conducted by any government. This program in an elementary form was a major activity of the "clerkship" mentioned by Lincoln, which was known officially as the Agricultural Division of the Patent Office. The division had been established after Congress in 1839 began to provide funds for the procurement, propagation, and distribution of seeds and plants. Subsequently the work was broadened by the Department of Agriculture to include systematic agricultural explorations, experiments in crop breeding and adapta-

[13] Records of irrigation and drainage activities of the Department of Agriculture, amounting to about four hundred cubic feet, comprise several entries in Preliminary Inventory No. 53, *Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering* (Washington, D. C., 1953), and No. 66, *Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering* (Washington, D. C., 1954).

[14] Records concerning early federal flood control work affecting agriculture, though considerable in volume, lack detailed description. Some records pertaining to such work since the 1920's are listed in Preliminary Inventory No. 104, *Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics* (Washington, D. C., 1958), 72–77.

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tion, climatic and soil investigations, and farm management studies. The purpose of this work has been the famous agricultural goal voiced by Jonathan Swift and echoed in 1863 by Lincoln's Commissioner of Agriculture: "To make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before."

Federal efforts to increase crop production since 1863 are abundantly shown in correspondence, reports, cooperative agreements, maps, and photographs. By 1951 production research efforts are revealed to be in progress on more than nine hundred projects at nearly two hundred locations in forty-five states and nine Latin American countries. Records of this work disclose basic information pertaining to the adaptation or improvement of dozens of food and fiber crops that have greatly expanded the nation's farm acreage and production, provided the basis for new industries, and enriched the nation's economic resources. Durum wheat in the semiarid lands of the northwestern states, Egyptian and Acala cotton in the irrigated valleys of the Southwest, Sudan grass in the dry pastures of the southern Great Plains, and Asiatic soybeans in the varied cropping systems east of the Mississippi River are only a few outstanding examples of such significant crops. To this list of important crops must be added hybrid corn, the history of which is perhaps the most remarkable food production story of the twentieth century. Also documented are the achievements of Agriculture Department scientists that stand as milestones in the development of modern plant science. Among these, for instance, is Erwin F. Smith's pioneering work concerning the bacterial origin of plant diseases and the pathology of cells, which paved the way for new techniques to combat crop destruction and opened new vistas for cancer research. Accompanying the story of these achievements are accounts of continuing and sometimes unsuccessful campaigns against one of the greatest menaces to crop production: plant disease. Typical of such campaigns were those against peach yellows in the eastern states beginning in the 1890's, fire blight of pear in the San Joaquin Valley and southern California at the turn of the century, white-pine blister rust in the Northeast during the 1920's, and wheat rust in the Middle West during the 1930's.[15]

Allied with the government's crop production research has been its research and regulatory work to control insects injurious to crops, animals, or man and to promote the culture of certain useful insects. This effort, originating in 1854 with the appointment of an entomologist in the Patent

[15] Preliminary Inventory No. 66, *Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering*, covering some 2,400 cubic feet of records, 1881–1950, is the principal guide to the crop production research material. For a brief description of these records and related entomological and chemical files, see Harold T. Pinkett, "Records of the First Century of Interest of the United States Government in Plant Industries," *Agricultural History*, XXIX (Jan. 1955), 38–45.

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Office, has been continued and greatly expanded by the Department of Agriculture. Archival records profusely document nearly a century of the government's war on insects and show the growth of entomological science and its significance frequently to public health, industry, and other fields as well as to agriculture. They reveal, for example, how the nation's orchards have been saved from the destructive infestation of the San Jose scale and Mediterranean fruit fly. They tell of the long fight against the gypsy and brown-tail moths, dreaded defoliators of trees in New England. They describe the widespread struggle to protect field crops against the ravages of the seemingly eternal grasshopper and a host of latter-day beetles and borers. They document most copiously the costly and critical onslaught of the boll weevil as it advanced through Texas and spread throughout the land of cotton and describe the continuing scientific war against this persistent enemy of a historic crop region. Also shown in the records are applications of entomological discoveries that have aided public health and prevented damage to property in cities as well as the countryside. Foremost among such discoveries in recent years is DDT, a great development for curative and preventive medicine and one of the most effective weapons ever devised in the long war against crop insects. Moreover, in records dealing with studies of useful insects can be found the story of a lost cause: the effort to produce silkworms for the establishment of an American silk industry.[16]

While federal resources were being used to protect crops from injurious insects, they also became available in the effort to protect livestock from dreaded diseases. This effort, which began in 1878 and expanded greatly after 1884, has branched out into several activities relating to the production and care of animals and the utilization of animal products. Archives of the Department of Agriculture concerning these activities are useful sources for historical studies of veterinary medicine and of the American livestock and meat industries since the 1890's. Exemplifying such usefulness are letters and reports, especially of the Bureau of Animal Industry, describing efforts to eradicate or control many diseases that have ravaged the nation's farms and ranches. Among these diseases have been hog cholera, which nearly wiped out the swine industry of the Middle West at the turn of the century; cattle tick fever, a formidable obstacle to the cattle industry in several southern states for more than a century; sheep scab, for many decades the

[16] The most detailed description of some twelve hundred cubic feet of records pertaining to federal entomological work, 1878–1934, is given in Preliminary Inventory No. 94, *Records of the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine* (Washington, D. C., 1956). Several related archival series, especially concerning recent entomological work, appear in unpublished lists for records of the Agricultural Research Service.

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worst problem faced by American sheepmen; foot-and-mouth disease, an elusive killer of American livestock in six outbreaks between 1902 and 1929; and bovine tuberculosis, a widespread menace against which from 1917 to 1940 was conducted the most extensive animal disease eradication program in the nation's history. Typical also are records concerning efforts to improve the quality and economic value of farm animals and poultry as exemplified by experimentation and research at the vast multiple-purpose Agricultural Research Center at Beltsville, Maryland, and the specialized US Range Livestock Experiment Station at Miles City, Montana.[17]

Federal interest in plant and animal production research has long been accompanied by research directed toward finding new uses for agricultural products, by-products, waste products, and surpluses. This research, mainly chemical and technological in nature, has been increased greatly in recent years as farmers have sought more government assistance in their efforts to hold and expand the market for farm products and as the nation's economy has experienced specific needs for various food and nonfood commodities. Examples of this demand and assistance extensively documented by the archives of chemical bureaus of the Agriculture Department include the unsuccessful effort to make sorghum a commercial sugar plant during the 1880's; investigation of the utilization of citrus culls and wastes, beginning in 1911, which paved the way for the establishment of new canning and by-product industries in the citrus regions of the country; and experimentation for several years with common farm by-products such as cornstalks, corncobs, cereal straws, and cotton stalks, which, though often technically successful, sometimes failed to produce profitable commercial uses. Also prominent in the records of this research, especially since 1930, are varied studies of the utilization of soybeans, the rapidly expanding production and use of which constitute one of the most striking agricultural developments in recent times. Conducted jointly with this utilization research have been investigations of the handling, storing, and processing of agricultural products. Among records of these investigations are extensive files describing hundreds of disastrous fires and grain dust explosions on farms and in industrial

[17] See Preliminary Inventory No. 106, *Records of the Bureau of Animal Industry* (Washington, D. C., 1958), for description of approximately eleven hundred cubic feet of records concerning livestock production research and protection, 1887–1939. An unpublished check list of records of the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Agriculture, describes a considerable volume of case files pertaining to the enforcement of the Animal Quarantine Act, 1909–1940; the Meat Inspection Act, 1908–1942; the Twenty-Eight-Hour Law, 1907–1942; the Virus-Serum-Toxin Act, 1914–1926; and the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1922–1943. Approximately one hundred cubic feet of records dealing with problems relating to dairy herds and the improvement and marketing of dairy products are shown in an unpublished preliminary check list of records of the Bureau of Dairy Industry.

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plants over a period of several years, technological changes in the naval stores industry since the turn of the century, and the growth of the movement for the dehydration of foods since World War I.[18]

Progress in agricultural production and commodity utilization research created a situation in which it became increasingly desirable to integrate the separate contributions of this research into efficient and profitable systems of farming. In other words, the most successful farming demanded a synthesis of the work of the natural scientist and agricultural engineer with that of the economist. Federal response to this demand began to be made with increasing effort after 1905. This effort has consisted of the acquisition, interpretation, and dissemination of information concerning the economic use of labor, land, buildings, and equipment in farm production and adjustment in farming to technological developments and changing market conditions. The documentation of this effort in federal archives, especially records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, furnishes varied data for studies dealing with the mobilization of American agricultural production during two world wars, recent patterns and programs of land use in the United States, and the impact of multifarious developments in the domestic and world economies on the American farm population of the twentieth century. Illustrative of this documentation are records concerning the first detailed studies of farm mortgage credit and agricultural insurance used by congressional leaders in framing historic legislation such as the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 and the Federal Crop Insurance Act of 1938, pioneer investigations of rural migration and farm labor problems beginning during World War I, basic research concerning rural housing and health services and the economics of water utilization inaugurated during the 1920's, and significant studies of land utilization and farm tenancy used extensively by the National Conference on Land Utilization in 1931 and President Roosevelt's Committee on Farm Tenancy in 1937.[19]

Accompanying the federal government's interest in promoting and protecting plant and animal industries and in conducting utilization and farm economics research has been its growing concern for the conservation of two natural resources vital to agricultural interests: forest and soil. Concern for forest conservation, which has grown notably since the beginning of the

[18] The principal description of the records (some thirteen hundred cubic feet) concerning chemical and crop utilization investigations of the Department of Agriculture from 1862 to 1942 is given in Preliminary Inventory No. 149, *Records of the Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry* (Washington, D. C., 1963).

[19] Approximately three thousand cubic feet of records concerning farm economics research, 1897–1946, are described in Preliminary Inventory No. 104, *Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.*

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national forest system in 1891, has brought a broad program involving the administration of some 150 national forests comprising over 180,000,000 acres in 40 states and Puerto Rico, research concerning forest and range management and product utilization, and cooperation with states in the advancement of good forest methods on state and privately owned land. Archives of the Forest Service documenting this far-flung undertaking constitute an invaluable source for studying American forest resources and the movement to protect and develop these resources from Roosevelt to Roosevelt.[20]

Related to this movement, especially during the past quarter of a century, have been systematic efforts to conserve soil fertility and forage resources. Beginning in 1933 with a series of demonstration projects in typical farm areas, federal soil conservation activities thereafter have been directed mainly toward providing technical assistance to locally organized groups of farmers and ranchers in nearly three thousand state-authorized soil conservation districts. The records of these activities supervised by the Soil Conservation Service tell much of the story of Hugh H. Bennett's zealous leadership of the American soil conservation movement—a veritable crusade accelerated by spectacular floods and storms during the 1920's and 1930's when millions of tons of the nation's topsoil were washed down streams or blown away in clouds of dust.[21] Meanwhile the conservation ardor of New Deal days extended its frontier to the strife-ridden, overgrazed, and eroded public range lands of the West and with the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 brought these lands under responsible control and conservation. Records of the administration of this act accumulated by Interior Department bureaus document basic facets of the history of the closing of the public domain.[22]

[20] Federal forestry activities prior to 1905 are documented mainly by correspondence and land entry papers of the General Land Office mentioned previously. The activities after that date and some earlier investigative work are shown in some 2,300 cubic feet of records, most of which are described in Preliminary Inventory No. 18, *Records of the Forest Service* (Washington, D. C., 1949). A series of these records dealing with the famous Ballinger-Pinchot controversy is analyzed in an unpublished report prepared by Theodore R. Schellenberg. For description of some other series, see Harold T. Pinkett, "Records of Research Units of the United States Forest Service in the National Archives," *Journal of Forestry*, XLV (Apr. 1947), 272–75. Federal forest and soil conservation activities of the New Deal period are revealed importantly in *Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, covered in Preliminary Inventory No. 11 (Washington, D. C., 1948). Varied social data provided by CCC records are shown in Harold T. Pinkett's "Records in the National Archives Relating to the Social Purposes and Results of the Operation of the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Social Service Review*, XXII (Mar. 1948), 46–53.

[21] A substantial portion (approximately four hundred cubic feet) of the archival holdings pertaining to soil conservation efforts from about 1928 to 1943 is described in a preliminary check list (multilithed, Washington, D. C., 1947). Records pertaining to earlier efforts in this connection are shown in the previously mentioned inventory (No. 66) of the records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering.

[22] Records concerning the early use of the public domain by the range cattle industry have been surveyed by Herman Kahn, "Records in the National Archives Relating to the Range Cattle Industry, 1865–1895," *Agricultural History*, XX (July 1946), 187–90. Most of the

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The period of the federal government's increasing response to the demand for agricultural research and conservation services was also one of growing concern about the problem of agricultural marketing. Systematic federal attention to this problem in its broadest sense began in 1913, although one of its aspects, statistical work, had received attention since 1839. In general, federal marketing work on behalf of agriculture has consisted of the collection and dissemination of production statistics and current market information; inspection and standardization of agricultural products; research concerning the grading, handling, and pricing of products; administration of rules to provide fair and orderly marketing conditions; and supervision of programs for the diversion of surplus commodities to new markets or new uses. Agriculture Department archives concerning these activities depict the growth of the national crop and livestock reporting service, a landmark along the path of the science of statistical sampling and forecasting and a unique example of voluntary public service. They describe the trend toward an agricultural marketing system, increasingly national in character and progressively federally controlled by such measures as the Cotton Futures Act of 1914, Grain Standards Act of 1916, Grain Futures Act of 1922, Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act of 1930, and the Commodity Exchange Act of 1936. They deal extensively with government assistance to farmer cooperatives after the passage of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929, a measure widely regarded as a departure from historic individualism in agriculture. Also profusely described are several programs for the diversion of surplus farm commodities and for social welfare needs, including the cattle purchase program in drought areas during the 1930's, food and cotton stamp plans from 1939 to 1943, and the school lunch and milk programs since 1935. Moreover, there are records reflecting the government's interest in foreign markets for farm commodities. This material, consisting mainly of reports of the Agriculture Department's Foreign Agricultural Service, describes crop production, marketing, government agricultural policies, and agricultural trends in all foreign countries since World War I.[23]

records concerning the administration of the public grazing lands since 1900 have been retained by the Department of the Interior.

[23] The principal record groups documenting federal efforts relating to agricultural marketing are those of the Agricultural Marketing Service, 1894–1945 (3,500 cubic feet); Surplus Marketing Administration, 1933–1941 (700 cubic feet); Bureau of Agricultural Economics (see above); and Foreign Agricultural Service, 1901–1954 (800 cubic feet). Except for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, there are no comprehensive, detailed descriptions of these record groups. Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission concerning the regulation of freight carriers, 1887–1934, provide significant documentation of federal response to demands on behalf of agricultural marketing. There is, however, no comprehensive finding aid for this record group. Federal efforts since the 1890's to improve rural road conditions were motivated largely by a desire to get the farmer out of the mud and to facilitate the marketing of his

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As the federal government discovered ways to improve crops and livestock and promote better farm management and marketing of farm products, the need for systematic communication of these discoveries to farmers became evident. Since 1914 an elaborate system of extension education conducted by the Department of Agriculture in cooperation with state agencies has been devised to meet this need. Under the system, extension workers at state and county levels carry the gospel of good farming and home economics to the nation's farm population through demonstration and other educational methods. The reports and letters of these workers preserved in the National Archives present details of farm operation, home management, and rural life in all the states and territories and in nearly 3,000 counties of some 3,100 counties of the nation. They mirror the actions of American farmers when faced with great emergencies—the boll weevil, floods, droughts, and wars—as well as their struggles with such continuing problems as debt, crop adjustment, changing markets, and uncertain prices. They show the government's concern with the all-round development of rural people through work, recreation, social life, and leadership experience. Moreover, the records describe the remarkable role of a unique representative of the federal, state, and county governments, the agricultural county agent. In them can be traced this official's traditional role as the carrier of the science of agriculture to the grass roots and the challenge to his methods and leadership brought by the agricultural "action programs" of the New Deal era and later years.[24]

Another broad program of federal assistance to agriculture during the twentieth century has been the maintenance of various farm credit services. Demand for such services stems directly from agrarian complaints originating during the nineteenth century and recurring economic depressions of this century. Woodrow Wilson, under whose administration the services began,

products. These efforts are shown to a considerable extent in records of the Bureau of Public Roads, 1893–1950 (amounting to 1,900 cubic feet), which are described in Preliminary Inventory No. 134, *Records of the Bureau of Public Roads* (Washington, D. C., 1962). Moreover, the imposition of tariffs on certain agricultural commodities imported from abroad has been another type of federal assistance to agricultural marketing. Records of Congress and executive agencies concerning this assistance, though considerable in volume, are scattered and described only briefly in existing finding aids.

[24] See the description of the records of the Federal Extension Service (approximately eight hundred cubic feet) in Preliminary Inventory No. 83, *Records of the Federal Extension Service* (Washington, D. C., 1955). Microfilm copies of annual narrative and statistical reports of extension officials and workers, 1908–1944, have been acquired by several state extension offices. Parallel to the growth of extension work was the development of federal aid to schools offering agricultural and vocational courses under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and subsequent legislation. Records of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, 1917–1933 (150 cubic feet), dealing with this federal program provide important data for studies of recent trends in American education.

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declared: "The need was for machinery which would introduce business methods into farm finance, bring order out of chaos, reduce the cost of handling farm loans, place upon the market mortgages which would be a safe investment for private funds, attract into agricultural operations a fair share of the capital of the Nation, and lead to a reduction of interest."[25] Farm credit services, begun with greater government assistance under the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 than Wilson initially favored, were expanded during the 1920's and have reached their greatest dimensions since 1933. They have encompassed a large-scale program of farm debt refinancing under the Farm Credit Administration and affiliated organizations and of emergency, rehabilitation, and farm ownership loans under the Farmers Home Administration and predecessor agencies. Reports, correspondence, case files, and other documents concerning these credit services reveal much of the discontent and distress of rural America since World War I. They help to show the extent to which the federal farm credit system has succeeded or failed in alleviating these conditions and meeting the needs and ideals envisioned by its proponents.[26]

Accompanying broad federal farm credit programs in recent years has been the special loan program to encourage the extension of electric and telephone service throughout rural areas. The program provides for self-liquidating loans and technical assistance to rural cooperatives and other organizations. Records of this program supervised by the Rural Electrification Administration illuminate the problems and progress of rural electrification as it spread from 10 per cent of the nation's farms in 1935 to approximately 90 per cent of them by 1953. They deal, therefore, with one of the most rapid and remarkable transformations of agricultural enterprise and rural life. They present the story of rural electric cooperatives often struggling against "spite line" construction and other hostile tactics of commercial utilities and of men in fields and forests clearing rights of way and using

[25] *Congressional Record,* 64 Cong., 1 sess., LIII, pt. 15, Appendix, 1763 (Aug. 15, 1916).

[26] Archival series of Farm Credit Administration records, 1913–1950, amount to nearly 1,200 cubic feet and are described in an unpublished preliminary inventory available to searchers. Those of the Farmers Home Administration, 1931–1950, comprise about 2,400 cubic feet and are covered by Preliminary Inventory No. 118, *Records of the Farmers Home Administration* (Washington, D. C., 1959). Selected loan case files of a predecessor agency of the latter administration, the Farm Security Administration, are analyzed by Carl J. Kulsrud, "Sampling Rural Rehabilitation Records for Transfer to the National Archives," *American Archivist,* X (Oct. 1947), 328–34. Records of the Farm Security Administration; Office of Labor, War Food Administration, 1943–1945 (50 cubic feet); and President's Commission on Migratory Labor, 1950 (4 cubic feet) include correspondence, reports, and hearings attesting to recent federal concern about the plight of migrant farm workers. For description of these records, see Preliminary Inventory Nos. 118, 51, *Records of the Office of Labor, War Food Administration* (Washington, D. C., 1953), and 86, *Records of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor* (Washington, D. C., 1955), respectively.

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new engineering devices for cross-country power lines with a pioneering spirit like that of their forebears who tamed the early wilderness.[27]

By far the most notable and controversial program of federal assistance to agriculture was inaugurated by the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933—a landmark in American agricultural history. This program was adopted in response to strong demands for government action to halt a steadily growing disparity between agricultural and industrial prices, which reached a disastrous state with the Great Depression of 1929. With its various changes to meet constitutional and other requirements, the program was and is one designed to stabilize agricultural production and to establish for farmers a "parity" of purchasing power with that for nonfarmers. Important in this stabilization effort have been provision for crop insurance and the "ever normal granary" plan permitting systematic storage of surpluses of big crop years for use in years of dearth.

Most of the important records dealing with this agricultural stabilization program in the pre-World War II period are now in the National Archives. They offer an exceptional opportunity for the study of the most ambitious governmental effort ever made to assist American agricultural enterprise. They document the participation of some six million farmers in programs administered locally by more than three thousand county committees of farmers. They describe a gigantic attack on the problems of soil depletion and unprofitable surpluses, employing sometimes drastic measures, as in 1933 the plowing under of ten and half million acres of cotton and the slaughter of six and a half million pigs. They reveal the economic and social plight of tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and hired agricultural laborers accentuated by restriction of production and increasing farm mechanization.[28]

The value of federal records concerning agricultural matters for historical research has only recently begun to be recognized. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture, expressed an opinion in 1912 that was generally held by government officials and long accepted even by scholars: "I think that not many papers of real historical value accumulate in the Department of

[27] Rural Electrification Administration records, 1934–1943 (approximately 1,255 cubic feet) are partially covered by unpublished inventories and accession lists.

[28] For description of a major part of the twelve hundred cubic feet comprising records of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and successor agencies, 1933–1945, see Carl J. Kulsrud, "The Archival Records of the Agricultural Adjustment Program," *Agricultural History*, XXII (July 1948), 197–204; and an unpublished inventory of records of the Consumer's Counsel Division. Records of the Legal Division of the AAA, which handled several controversial issues of the production control program, are among records of the Office of the Solicitor of the Agriculture Department. Some twelve hundred cubic feet of records of the Commodity Credit Corporation, 1933–1948, constitute another basic documentary source for this program.

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Agriculture."[29] Five years earlier, in a survey of federal archives, C. H. Van Tyne and Waldo G. Leland had expressed the view that the Department's records could "hardly be said to possess any value for historical purposes."[30] This opinion has changed in recent years as government functions and records have become more diversified and as public officials and investigators in all fields have discovered the very considerable informational values of public records.[31] Hence in 1941 during a government-wide survey of documentary material of cultural, scientific, or historical importance, Secretary Claude R. Wickard noted that there was in his Department material possessing "infinite value to the country generally."[32] The research value of federal agricultural records deposited in the National Archives has been demonstrated recently in several outstanding publications. Prominent among these are: E. Louise Peffer, *The Closing of the Public Domain, Disposal and Reservation Policies, 1900–50* (Stanford, Calif., 1951); Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, *Prelude to Point Four* (Madison, Wis., 1954); Gilbert C. Fite, *Fight for Farm Parity* (Norman, Okla., 1954); James H. Shidler, *Farm Crisis, 1919–1923* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957); Oscar E. Anderson, *The Health of a Nation: Harvey W. Wiley and the Fight for Pure Food* (Chicago, 1958); Paul K. Conkin, *The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1959); Samuel P. Hayes, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) and *The Politics of Upheaval* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); Dean Albertson, *Roosevelt's Farmer: Claude R. Wickard in the New Deal* (New York, 1961); Ashley Schiff, *Fire and Water, Scientific Heresy in the Forest Service* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); and Christiana M. Campbell, *The Farm Bureau—A Study of the Making of National Farm Policy, 1933–40* (Urbana, Ill., 1962). Additional proof of the research value of the records is given by the fact that they have been used as basic sources for varied historical articles or dissertations dealing with topics ranging, for example, from New Deal intellectuals to Mexican farm laborers and from conservation in the Pacific Northwest to rural resettlement in the south Atlantic coastal plains.

[29] Letter of Wilson to Charles D. Hilles, Feb. 17, 1912, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, NA.

[30] Claude H. Van Tyne and Waldo G. Leland, *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington* (Washington, D. C., 1907), 230.

[31] See Philip C. Brooks, "The Historian's Stake in Federal Records," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (Sept. 1956), 259–74.

[32] Letter of Secretary Wickard to Archibald MacLeish, Jan. 22, 1941, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, NA.

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In 1962 the systematic federal assistance to agriculture that Lincoln helped to inaugurate was commemorated in a centennial celebration. Although agriculture was then no longer the "largest interest of the nation," it was receiving more federal attention than directed in any other field except national defense. A rich documentary product of this attention since 1862 is already provided by records in or scheduled for transfer to the National Archives. Its preservation is in keeping with the spirit of the organic act of the Department of Agriculture, which called for the acquisition and preservation of "all information concerning agriculture" obtainable "by means of books and correspondence" and other methods and the maintenance of "accurate records" of experiments. The resultant documentary product attests to the historic persistence of agriculture as an interest that Lincoln's generation and succeeding ones have considered "most worthy . . . to be cherished and cultivated."

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Fascism for Export: Italy and the United States in the Twenties

ALAN CASSELS*

WHEN Benito Mussolini gained power in October 1922, Fascism was an unknown quantity. Was it to be regarded as exclusively an Italian answer to peculiarly Italian problems? Or might not the march on Rome be the first success of a world-wide authoritarian movement intent on superseding old-fashioned parliamentary democracy beyond Italy's borders? Although Mussolini might deny that Fascism was an exportable commodity, he ostentatiously pitted his movement against democracy and the liberal state, and the challenge to these ecumenical creeds carried a strong implication of Fascism's relevance outside Italy. Moreover, Fascism largely absorbed the Italian nationalist movement and appealed to the patriotism of Italians everywhere. Any Mussolinian call to the Italians abroad to cultivate their *italianità* was, in some measure, a demand for approval of the new, Fascist Italy. It remained to be seen in 1922 whether the new regime in Rome would exploit the Italian emigrants' love of homeland to export Fascist notions. An early test case was provided by circumstances in the United States, for here resided a sizable Italian population recently migrated and still emotionally attached to the home country. Mussolini's pledge to rejuvenate Italy made a strong appeal in these circles, as illustrated by the spontaneous foundation of Fascist clubs *(Fasci)* among the Italo-Americans in the months following Mussolini's accession to power. The situation offered a clear opportunity—even encouragement—to propagate Fascist ideas outside Italy if such was the Mussolini government's aim.[1]

Among the enemy records that fell into Allied hands at the end of World War II were files from the Italian *Ministero della Cultura Popolare*. One file with the title "Miscellaneous Documents Taken from Files on the United States 1920–27" deals almost exclusively with the dissemination of Fascist ideas in the United States through the Fascist clubs.[2] This source makes it

* An assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Cassels specializes in twentieth-century European diplomacy. He has written "Mussolini and German Nationalism 1922–1925" (*Journal of Modern History*, XXXV [June 1963]).

[1] The "quasi-political movements" of Italo-Americans in the 1920's are mentioned in Oscar Handlin's *The American People in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 160–61, 196.

[2] "World War II Collection of Seized Enemy Records, Group 242" [hereafter cited as "Ital.

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apparent that from the first Italian officialdom was divided on the merits of supporting the *Fasci*. On the one hand, Italy's career diplomats, who had agreed to serve Mussolini in the hope of curbing Fascism's inflated ambitions abroad, regarded the injection of an ideological note into Italian foreign policy as exactly the sort of far-reaching and reckless design to be feared from Mussolini. This group found a spokesman in Gelasio Caetani, ambassador to Washington. Caetani observed early in 1923 that the *Fasci* were depicted in the Hearst press as haunts of criminal and subversive elements and their unsavory reputation used to justify American discrimination against Italian immigrants. And, inasmuch as the *Fasci* were regarded as the Mussolini government's responsibility, criticism of their activities could only hurt Italy in the pending question of funding its American war debt. Caetani, then, warned emphatically against a campaign to spread "national Fascist doctrine" among Italo-Americans by "Fascist officials in Italy or any highly placed personage unaware of the delicacy of the situation here and ignorant of the American psychology which is profoundly hostile to any foreign pressure." If Rome were to intermingle in the *Fasci* at all, recommended the ambassador, it should be to impose restraint and to transform them from political into cultural societies.[3] Opposing these prudent counsels and painting a rosier picture of Fascist prospects in the United States were the party enthusiasts on both sides of the Atlantic. Their reports to the Italian Foreign Ministry and the Rome secretariat of the Fascists abroad listed nearly forty North American *Fasci* in mid-1923 and a year later claimed that "Fascism in America is at its most favorable juncture." The chief difficulty, according to these party "questori in missione," lay in "the more or less open hostility" to the American *Fasci* of the Italian diplomats in general and the "inexplicably poor attitude" of the ambassador in Washington in particular.[4]

Mussolini's efforts to arbitrate between these two groups and to lay down a firm policy were woefully inadequate. Twice in 1923 the Fascist Grand Council commanded the *Fasci all'estero* to forswear politics in favor of "activity of a spiritual and moral nature" and to respect the authority

Docs.," with frame number], Report 71, container 429, microfilm in National Archives, Washington, D. C. I am indebted to the Historical Office of the State Department for permission to use these materials.

[3] Gelasio Caetani to Benito Mussolini, Jan. 28, Mar. 20, 22, 1923, "Ital. Docs.," 014592–96, 014630, 014606–11.

[4] Unsigned report received in Italian Foreign Ministry, July 29, 1923, *ibid.*, 014665–70; Giuseppe Bastianini to Mussolini, Mar. 24, 1924, enclosing report by Major Costa, *ibid.*, 014713–19; Bastianini to Dino Grandi, Mar. 17, 1926, quoting letter of Ignazio Thaon di Revel, *ibid.*, 014735–36/1.

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of Italy's diplomatic representatives. Furthermore, the council denied any connection between the *Fasci* and either the Mussolini government or the *Partito Nazionale Fascista*.[5] But this moderation was only the public face of Fascism. On the heels of the Grand Council pronouncements came a confidential circular from Giuseppe Bastianini, influential Fascist party hierarch and secretary-general in Rome of the Fascists abroad, which reasserted his own strict control over the American *Fasci*—recently proclaimed official policy notwithstanding—and carried a clear intent to use them as a propaganda weapon. Ambassador Caetani characterized this as "an act of duplicity to the hospitable United States nation" and foresaw dire diplomatic complications if the directive should fall into American hands.[6] In the imprecise circumstances created by conflicting instructions, the Italian diplomats in the United States tried to hold aloof from the *Fasci*.[7] However, frequently an Italian consul would deem the activities of the local *Fascio* unduly provocative and seek to impose a restraining hand. Not surprisingly, the smoldering hostility between a cautious bureaucratic class and the exuberant party zealots burst into the open in a dozen places in the United States.[8]

As early as 1922 Mussolini thought in terms of successive "phases" of Fascist propaganda abroad, each more intense than the last.[9] By way of encouragement to enter a new and more active phase, once the mid-point of the 1920's was turned certain factors inhibiting a Fascist propaganda campaign in America disappeared. Dictatorship was established in Italy in 1925, and open criticism was stifled. In the same year the thorny problem of Italy's war debt to the United States was settled. And if Italo-American differences on immigration were not resolved, American firmness made the issue so dead that Mussolini, to save face, declared that Italy neither needed nor desired a population outlet in the United States.[10] These developments seemed to guarantee, in Fascist eyes, a measure of impunity to step up the

[5] Grand Council communiqués, Feb. 14, July 27, 1923, Benito Mussolini, *Opera omnia*, ed. Edoardo and Duilio Susmel (34 vols., Florence, 1951–), XIX, 141–42, 337–38.

[6] Caetani to Mussolini, Nov. 26, 1923, "Ital. Docs.," 014696–700; Caetani quotes extensively from the Bastianini circular dated July 31, 1923.

[7] Giacomo de Martino to Salvatore Contarini, Dec. 18, 1925, Italy, *Ministero degli Affari Esteri, I documenti diplomatici italiani* [hereafter cited as *DDI*], 7th Ser., ed. Ruggero Moscati (4 vols., Rome, 1953–), IV, 151–52.

[8] See esp. an unsigned report on the American *Fasci*, dated 1925, "Ital. Docs.," 014728–32. A remarkably bitter dispute between consul and *Fascio* in Boston, Massachusetts, is recounted in Martino to Grandi (and enclosures), Mar. 29, 1926, *ibid.*, 014773–80, 014785–87, 014790–93.

[9] Roberto Cantalupo, *Racconti politici dell'altra pace* (Milan, 1940), 304–305.

[10] Memo by William R. Castle of conversation with Ambassador Martino, Feb. 10, 1928, US State Department, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928* [hereafter cited as *FR*] (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1943), III, 109; see also Cantalupo, *Racconti politici*, 307–309; Arnold Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs, 1927* (London, 1929), 128–29.

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pace of distributing Fascist ideas in the United States. Accordingly, Count Ignazio Thaon di Revel crossed the ocean to build the American *Fasci* into a national organization, the Fascist League of North America, and he made no secret of the fact that he was an authorized emissary of the Italian government.[11] The Fascist Grand Council promulgated a new statute for the *Fasci all'estero* that clearly indicated their position in an international framework centered on Rome.[12] Moreover, a new secretary-general of the Fascists abroad, who was supposed to inject skill and vigor into the organization, was appointed.[13] The result of this new forward policy was to make the *Fasci* a formal question between the governments of Italy and the United States.

The official United States attitude in the 1920's to the *Fasci* was not clear cut. Early in its career Mussolini's administration was warned plainly by the American embassy in Rome that Washington looked askance at the *Fasci* as a potential "imperium in imperio,"[14] and later in the decade the Solicitor's Office of the State Department designated Thaon di Revel as "a dangerous political agitator."[15] On the other hand, in some official quarters there was strong sympathy for the Fascist ideologues. This was brought home to Giacomo de Martino, successor to Caetani at the Washington embassy and sharer of his predecessor's distaste for the *Fasci,* who on his own initiative several times offered to curb the Fascist clubs' activity if the State Department considered them engaged in anything "contrary to law or even likely to make trouble."[16] But all the ambassador's offers were rejected because the consensus in the State, Justice, and Labor Departments considered the *Fasci,* if guilty of occasional rowdiness, fundamentally "to believe in law and order," to be "thoroughly anti-Bolshevik," and to enjoy the respect of police and responsible opinion.[17] Clearly the American government would not make an issue of the *Fasci* unless driven to do so.

[11] Thaon di Revel interview in New York *Telegram,* July 23, 1927.

[12] Grand Council communiqué, Jan. 29, 1928 (pub. Feb. 5), Mussolini, *Opera omnia,* XXIII, 89–91.

[13] Warren D. Robbins to Frank B. Kellogg, Feb. 9, 1928, *FR,* III, 107–109; see also Mario Donosti (pseud.), *Mussolini e l'Europa* (Rome, 1945), 17–20.

[14] Richard W. Child to Charles E. Hughes, May 15, 1923, and Henry P. Fletcher to Hughes, May 9, 1924, US State Department file, "Fascist Activities in the U. S.," 811·00F/1, 811·00F/12.

[15] Memo by Richard W. Flourney, May 22, 1929, *ibid.,* 811·00F/68.

[16] Castle memo, June 17, 1927, Castle to J. Edgar Hoover, Nov. 6, 1928, Castle to Hoover, William W. Husband, and Robert C. Bannerman, June 12, 1929, *ibid.,* 811·00F/28½, 811·00F/50, 811·00F/62.

[17] Castle memo, June 17, 1927, Hoover to Nelson T. Johnson, Nov. 9, 1928, Bannerman to Castle, June 21, 1929, Justice Department note, June 21, 1929, Labor Department note, June 27, 1929, *ibid.,* 811·00F/28½, 811·00F/49, 811·00F/63, 811·00F/64, 811·00F/66. The most outspoken sympathy for the *Fasci* is found in the report of a State Department special agent, A. R. Burr, Dec. 15, 1929, *ibid.,* 811·00F/107. Compare the State Department's readi-

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The activities of Thaon di Revel's Fascist League of North America, however, attracted journalistic attention. Especially widely read was a sensational article by Marcus Duffield in *Harper's Magazine* of November 1929 that accused the *Fasci* of hindering the naturalization of Italo-Americans and of interfering in the lives and rights of American citizens of Italian descent.[18] Public concern provoked rumblings on Capitol Hill. Senatorial requests were made that Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson investigate the Fascist League and testify before the Committee on Foreign Relations.[19] It became clear in Italy at this point that the American *Fasci* inhibited rather than promoted the cause of international Fascism. The newly appointed Foreign Minister, Dino Grandi, admitted that they "did Italy more harm than good," and Ambassador Martino was authorized to dissolve the Fascist League of North America.[20] Mussolini tried to bargain, requesting that reciprocally some curb be placed on "the activities of . . . American Masons in stirring up propaganda against Italy."[21] Although this was refused, Stimson was able to provide Italy with a sort of *quid pro quo*. The State Department inquiry into the charges contained in Duffield's article revealed that much detailed evidence was inaccurate—a fact blithely admitted by the author.[22] Therefore, with the announcement of the ending of the Fascist League, Stimson exculpated the American Fascists from any subversive activity and ascribed the league's dissolution to a commendable desire to avert "adverse speculative comment and possible misunderstanding."[23] Yet, no matter how the pill was sweetened, the league's disappearance was a serious blow to the rapid spread of Fascist ideas in the United States.

There is no doubt that the Fascist government from the outset consciously aspired to propagate its ideas in the United States through the *Fasci*. The program to achieve this went into high gear in the later 1920's when Mussolini felt a fresh measure of security at home and invulnerability in

ness, albeit ineffectual, to brand Gaetano Salvemini as an "anarchist or communist" and thereby deny him entry into the US. (Martino to Mussolini, Oct. 16, 1926, *DDI*, IV, 359–60.)

[18] Marcus Duffield, "Mussolini's American Empire; The Fascist Invasion of the U. S.," *Harper's Magazine*, CLIX (Nov. 1929), 661–72.

[19] William E. Borah to Henry L. Stimson, Nov. 5, 1929, Clarence C. Dill to Stimson, Nov. 18, 1929, Wesley L. Jones to Stimson, Nov. 19, 1929, US State Department files, 811·00F/77, 811·00F/80½, 811·00F/81; see also US Congress, Senate Resolution 141, *Congressional Record*, 71 Cong., 1 sess., LXXI, pt. 5, 4921 (Oct. 26, 1929).

[20] John W. Garrett to Castle, Dec. 7, 1929, Stimson memo, Nov. 19, 1929, US State Department files, 811·00F/103, 811·00F/84.

[21] Stimson memo, Dec. 12, 1929, *ibid.*, 811·00F/89.

[22] Investigation of Fascist activity: Reports 1–5, Nov. 18–Dec. 21, 1929, *ibid.*, 811·00F/92, 95, 97, 104, 108; Leroy Mullen to Burr, Nov. 12, 1929, *ibid.*, 811·00F/99.

[23] Stimson press release, Dec. 27, 1929, *FR*, III, 111.

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Italo-American relations. It was perhaps inevitable that ultimately an aroused American public opinion, overriding the reluctance of the administration to act, should demand that Fascist activity be checked. But also among the reasons for the indifferent success of Fascism's ideological crusade must be recognized the attitude of most of Italy's career diplomats. In their words to Rome and their dealings with the *Fasci* on the spot, they displayed a dogged hostility to a policy that they judged both morally wrong and politically foolish.

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Reviews of Books

General

THE RISE OF THE WEST: A HISTORY OF THE HUMAN COMMUNITY. By *William H. McNeill.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 829. $12.50.)

THIS work of major significance deserves the attention particularly of those historians who have had reservations about the rationale or feasibility of world history.

The fact that a globally oriented history of mankind should have appeared at this particular time is in itself noteworthy. It represents a return to the historiographic tradition of the Enlightenment, when the idea of universal history fitted in with the prevailing views regarding progress. Prior to that period Western historians had been constrained by the need to fit all historical events into a rigid Biblical context. The break-through came with the publication of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations* (1752), and the multivolume *Histoire Universelle* (1736–65), both of which dealt with China, India, and America, as well as with the traditional regions of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. This interest in global history proved short-lived, disappearing with the French Revolution. One reason was the development of a more scientific attitude toward history, which set standards of reliable factual information that could not then be met in dealing with the Asian civilizations. At least as important was the militant nationalism of the nineteenth century, which emphasized national as against the earlier cosmopolitan history. This restricted frame of reference prevailed, at least until the First World War and to a large degree until the Second. The past few decades, however, have witnessed the beginnings of renewed interest in universal history. The accelerating tempo of historical research has vastly enlarged our fund of dependable data, while the impact of two world wars and of the scientific-technological revolution has compelled general acceptance of the fact of a "One World." Symptomatic of the new trend were the *Outline of History* by H. G. Wells (1919), *The Great Cultural Traditions* by Ralph Turner (1941), and the current UNESCO publications, *Journal of World History* and *History of Mankind*. McNeill's contribution represents a long stride forward in the same direction, based as it is on the latest scholarship, and encompassing the entire "history of the human community."

Though not explicitly stated, McNeill's approach is based on the propositions that human history is more than the sum of the histories of separate civilizations, that there is a cohesion transcending peoples and continents, and that this cohesion

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arises from cultural diffusion. Since Paleolithic times Eurasia has constituted a historical unit and continuum. Despite the particularism of local cultures and civilizations, innovations that aroused admiration or fear soon spread from their place of origin to other regions, eventually provoking throughout Eurasia new responses of rejection, imitation, or partial adaptation. This process of initiative and response reached significant proportions with the Middle Eastern Neolithic revolution that diffused agriculture through much of Eurasia and thereby laid the basis for the development of civilizations in geographically favored regions. Hence Part I of this study is entitled "The Era of Middle Eastern Dominance to 500 B.C." and is concerned with diffusion from the Middle East until the emergence and crystallization of the four major Eurasian civilizations: the Chinese, Indian, Middle Eastern, and European.

Part II, entitled "Eurasian Cultural Balance 500 B.C.–1500 A.D.," analyzes the autonomous development of the four great civilizations in their respective regions. The balance among them was periodically strained by powerful interregional movements such as Hellenism, Christianity, Buddhism, and the Arab-Moslem and Turkish-Mongol eruptions. Nevertheless the essential autonomy of the individual civilizations was preserved. Their borrowings were selective, and there was no substantial or lasting preponderance of one over the others.

Part III, "The Era of Western Dominance, 1500 A.D. to the Present," discusses the fateful disruption of the Eurasian balance resulting from the expansion of Western Europe overseas. What had been the isolated Western fringe of Eurasia now became the controlling center of global sea lanes, influencing and being influenced by every human society accessible from the ocean. The Eastern civilizations, which for millenniums had confronted the mobile nomads of the steppes and deserts, now were outflanked by equally mobile invaders from the sea. The technological and political superiority of these invaders overcame resistance in both the Western and Eastern Hemispheres and imposed the unprecedented hegemony of one region over the entire world. Hence the title, *The Rise of the West,* which the author describes as "a shorthand description of the upshot of the history of the human community to date."

The consistent and rigorous global orientation of this work yields many exciting insights, such as the comparison of the repercussions following the closure of the Eurasian ecumene in the second century B.C. and the closure of the global ecumene after the sixteenth century A.D., the comparison of the Southeast Asian territories influenced by India and the European territories influenced by the Roman Empire, the unique characteristics of West European civilization in the late Middle Ages that contributed to the ensuing global hegemony, and the conclusion that we "should count ourselves fortunate to live in one of the great ages of the world."

A universal history such as this is vulnerable to the specialists who can point to what they regard as procrustean manipulations or to errors of fact or interpretation. I have my own list of queries and complaints, particularly regarding the

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extent to which the author seems to have allowed his perfectly justified title to affect his treatment of the twentieth century. This century is surely witnessing the decline of the West in certain respects, and its triumph in others; indeed the two processes are interrelated and mutually stimulating. McNeill recognizes this in a footnote on his final page. If this book had appeared in 1914, or even in 1939, the process of decline could have been relegated to a footnote. In 1963 it suggests that the author has become the prisoner of his title and that his subtitle might have been a more functional, if less striking, description of his work. Also the banal and frequently confusing pictograms have no place in a study of such sophistication and stature.

In conclusion, the significance of McNeill's contribution must be underscored. World history hitherto has been left largely to amateurs or to philosophers of history such as Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee. In their search for patterns and general laws they treated the rise and fall of "civilizations" as isolated and self-sufficient events. McNeill has provided here an alternative to this ahistorical disregard of time and space and in doing so has demonstrated that world history is a viable and intellectually respectable field of study.

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FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO ROMANTICISM: TRENDS IN STYLE IN ART, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC, 1300–1830. By *Frederick B. Artz.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 311. $5.00.)

This is a richly informative book proceeding from years spent in the study and teaching of subjects pertaining to the culture of Europe. It is probably as excellent a book as can be written to give substance and illustration to the theme that the arts have a significant history only in the sense of a history of styles, and that an analysis and description of styles—herein named in chronological sequence "Early Renaissance," "High Renaissance," "Mannerism," "Baroque," "Neo-Classicism," and "Romanticism"—will reveal that painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, and music have features and qualities common to one of these prevailing styles and reveal these usually within the same time periods. If not a pure intellectual history, it is a beautifully wrought intellectualized history, bespeaking a love of the arts and revealing a knowledge of the *opera* of painters, sculptors, and architects, of masters in the various genres of literature, and of composers of music ranging from Landino in the fourteenth century to Beethoven and Schubert in the nineteenth. There are paragraphs and pages that communicate the excitement and relish of the author in building a formal dwelling house for the creative minds of modern Europe; there is often apt and charming and economical characterization of artistic achievements. Even so, the book's tendency is organizational and encyclopedic, and its matter is best savored in short samplings. Further, it must be said that what is most truly vital and essential in art cannot be given in this or any textbook of styles in the arts. In a college course devoted to intellectual

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history, however, teacher and student can proceed from *Stilkunst* to the originals through reading of the poets and dramatists, the contemplation of paintings, the hearing of the music of the masters. To these important intellectual and spiritual facts of European culture the book is a finely organized and companionable guide.

What it pays too little homage to, since its emphasis is upon style, is genius and the springs of genius. It is all very well to say "the style of the High Renaissance in art, letters, and music had a grandeur that reached, in art and literature at least, the peak of excellence of the best of the ancients"; it is fascinating, too, to find analogies in Raphael, Ariosto, Spenser, Palestrina, William Byrd—a style exhibiting dignity, noble simplicity, spaciousness and serenity, balance and harmony. Yet the author's presentation tends to the view that the age or the style produces the artists: for example, mannerism "produced the paintings of Tintoretto, many of the works of Michelangelo, the major plays of Shakespeare, the poetry of Tasso, the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes, and the madrigals of Gesualdo and Monteverdi." The reverse would appear to be true, that certain men make the "ages" and the "styles" to which other men give names.

A very different emphasis is to be noted recently among art critics and historians. Edward J. Dent has said: "It has been for our own century and for the generation of the present day to rediscover Mozart, not as the expression of an imaginary age of innocence, still less as the musical illustrator of an equally imaginary century of rococo artificiality, but as the completely mature creator of music that we can still enjoy as a thing of delight for its own sake" (*Mozart's Operas,* p. 12). Lionello Venturi writes of a highly interesting change coming over the views of art critics and historians, saying "nowadays far more importance is assigned to the individual genius of the artist," and while Wölfflin's ideas of styles and their changes still have currency, "there is more to art than form alone, to the exclusion of content; in fact all form derives its value from a given content, that content being, in the last analysis, the spiritual outlook of the artist and the culture to which he belongs" (*Italian Painting—The Renaissance,* pp. 13–14).

Duke University ERNEST W. NELSON

THE AGE OF RECONNAISSANCE. By *J. H. Parry.* [The World Histories of Civilization.] (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. xv, 364. $7.50.)

To summarize the achievements of Europe in what Parry, in a happy phrase, has called the Age of Reconnaissance, is no easy task. It involves knowledge of the languages and cultures of widely varying European peoples: Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, English. It involves ethnological knowledge of widely varying "native" peoples in Asia, Africa, and America who met the European reconnaissance with a counterreconnaissance of their own. It requires a knowledge of the tools that made the reconnaissance possible: ships, maps, weapons. It involves

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a knowledge of the natural products of the earth in all parts of the world. It involves a knowledge of the legal, moral, and commercial aspects of racial contact and expanding sovereignties. Despite the Herculean nature of the task, Parry, whose varied career in several continents and in several fields has given him valuable knowledge and perspective, has accomplished the task with skill and apparent ease.

Parry does not write explosive or vigorous prose; nor does he organize his material in a dramatic manner. His prose gives evidence of a solid and thoughtful chewing. It is what is usually termed "straightforward" though it sometimes conceals a wry humor and unexpected subtlety. Parry divides his material into three broad categories: "The Conditions for Discovery," "The Story of Discovery," and "The Fruits of Discovery." His chapters on ships and shipbuilders, pilotage and navigation, and the fighting capacity of men and of ships are concise and perceptive essays. Parry is equally effective in outlining the administrative and commercial relationships that developed within the new empires as they took form in the postdiscovery phase. His chapter on "The Colonial Bureaucrats" is an icily judicious evaluation.

Parry is, perhaps, less successful in telling the story of discovery, though it might be fairer to say that his frame of reference is based too much upon the organizational aspects of the operation and too little upon the personal aspects for some tastes. One does not obtain a fresh insight into the discoverers or conquerors, and certainly not into the discovered or conquered. One does get a better idea of the process of discovery and conquest, however.

Whatever its defects, Parry's book is an achievement few could equal and fewer surpass. (Perhaps "equal" and "surpass" are the wrong words. How *differently* this vast historical subject would have been treated, in emphasis and style, had the brush been in the hands of Boxer, Morison, Quinn, or Rowse!) Spendidly and profusely illustrated, accompanied by useful charts and maps, it is one of the volumes in "The World Histories of Civilization" series being published under the general editorship of Sir Ronald Syme. It is a happy achievement, destined to become a standard work, though not a classic one.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume XI, MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WORLD-WIDE PROBLEMS, 1870–1898. Edited by *F. H. Hinsley*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 743. $8.50.)

MOST of the chapters in this eleventh volume of *The New Cambridge Modern History* are written by very prominent and highly qualified scholars. Moreover, without exception these chapters are craftsmanlike. Unfortunately, however, each contribution stands in isolation. To be sure, in separate but overlapping chapters the editor and Theodor Schieder present panoramic views of the last thirty years

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of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless they fail to provide unifying principles, methods, or questions for the study of the seminal events of these deceptively serene decades.

As a result the other twenty-two chapters do not form any kind of unit and share few, if any, common concerns. Many of the authors simply summarize key sections of their larger works or write survey chapters for this occasion. Such is the case with Werner Conze's work on the German Empire; W. N. Medlicott on Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and the Balkans; Paul Knaplund on Britain and the British Empire; Percival Spear on India; W. G. Beasley on Japan; Charles C. Griffin on Latin America; A. J. P. Taylor on international relations; A. P. Thornton on rivalries in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and Egypt; and F. C. Langdon on the scramble for China. Each of these chapters tends to be written in the spirit of scientific history, in the mode of narrative political and diplomatic history, and in the form of a survey.

Rather than make significant concessions to the analytic and multifactor approach of contemporary historical scholarship, these authors prefer to stand in the tradition of the concluding volume of *The Old Cambridge Modern History* published in 1910. Of course they have the advantage of new sources and perspectives over their predecessors. In terms of method, however, A. J. P. Taylor belongs to the same school as Hermann Oncken and Émile Bourgeois. It is doubly surprising, therefore, that unlike his predecessors he did not insist, together with other contributors, on the inclusion in this volume of an updated selective and critical bibliography. There can be no excuse for this oversight.

In a fascinating chapter on the partition of Africa, R. E. Robinson and J. Gallagher argue that none of the chief statesmen and politicians of imperialism believed in African empire, that there was "no comprehensive cause or purpose" behind imperialism, and that the partition of Africa was "a remarkable freak." In their view the scramble for African real estate was primarily a response to the decay of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of protonationalisms in Islam; only marginally was it a function of impulses inside the major European states or of the requirements of the balance of power. Consequently power vacuums needed to be filled, trade routes had to be secured, and backward societies begged to be modernized. In their eagerness to start *de novo* Robinson and Gallagher overlook the fact that both Marx and Hobson emphasized the corrosive impact of modern states and economies on traditional societies and that Hobson recognized that imperialism stimulated nationalism. Hence the conclusion that whereas imperialism was "an engine of social change, colonial nationalism [was] its auxiliary" is not that novel.

Moreover, after denying that any "single general cause underlay" the imperialist movement, Robinson and Gallagher tend to take the untenable position that the dynamics of this movement were of African rather than European origin. Since C. P. Fitzgerald, in his chapter on China, is not concerned with the general nature of imperialism, he can legitimately limit himself to the conflict between

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decay and modernization in the Celestial Empire. But to the extent to which Robinson and Gallagher courageously set themselves a broader assignment, they can hardly afford to ignore or dismiss those upswelling economic, demographic, and political forces in Western and Central Europe that Hinsley and Schieder discuss in their chapters and that provided the fuel for the imperial expansion into the "decaying" non-Western world.

This chapter on Africa is, of course, a summary of the authors' *Africa and the Victorians*. But unlike most of the other summary chapters, this one is fresh, analytic, and provocative, even if it is controversial. Some will question the inclusion of a controversial piece in this volume, even though it is difficult to define the audience for which the book is intended. Whoever reads this book, however, will welcome a contribution that combines sound scholarship with imagination, playfulness, and argument.

Equally welcome is the inclusion of separate chapters on economic conditions, education, literature, art and architecture, science and technology. A. K. Thorlby stresses the "unmistakable symptoms of decadence" in late nineteenth-century European literature, though he begs the difficult question as to why this theme became so prominent. His essay might be of greater value to historians if, instead of discussing English, French, German, Scandinavian, and Russian literature seriatim, he had used the topical and comparative approach. According to Nikolaus Pevsner, in painting and architecture the late nineteenth century marked "the beginning of a new age [as well as] the end of an old." But neither Thorlby nor Pevsner tells us why different art forms had varying degrees of susceptibility to the rapidly proliferating symptoms of social and cultural disintegration and malaise. Unlike the architects, most poets and painters did not celebrate the triumph of technology that Trevor Williams describes.

Judging by these topical chapters the editor realized that narrow political and diplomatic history was obsolete. Unable or unwilling to find scholars equipped to bring together the strands of political, economic, social, and cultural history Hinsley commissioned specialists to provide the new dimensions. None of these chapters is intrinsically bad, but they are hopelessly capsulated. That this need not be the case is clear from M. E. Howard's superb treatment of the armed forces. In less than forty pages he presents the transformation of Europe's military and naval establishments as a kaleidoscope of the economic, technological, social, diplomatic, and intellectual changes in European society.

Similarly, in his analysis of the birth and consolidation of the Third Republic, J. Néré meaningfully relates political, economic, social, and intellectual factors. Néré was unwilling to summarize or survey well-known materials and events. In one of the rare footnotes in the book he confesses not only that he bases his chapter "on a personal study of the sources, for the Boulangist period at least," but he also asks that his interpretation be considered "provisional" rather than definitive!

The Old Cambridge History accurately reflected pre-1914 historiography:

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quite appropriately G. P. Gooch traced the "Growth of Historical Science" in its concluding chapter. *The New Cambridge History,* however, cannot speak for contemporary historical scholarship which has progressed from Fustel de Coulanges to Marc Bloch, from Aulard to Labrousse, and from Albert Sorel to E. H. Carr. In the spirit of this advance Robinson and Gallagher, Howard, and Néré point toward the job that needs to be done. Meanwhile only reviewers should have to read extensively in this volume.

Princeton University ARNO J. MAYER

WELTGESCHICHTE DER GEGENWART. Edited by *Felix von Schroeder.* Volume I, DIE STAATEN. By *Erich Angermann et al.* (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1962. Pp. 830. 48 fr. S.)

"PERHAPS later generations will speak of our time as one of the few turning points in human history, in which totally new forms of living were discovered," writes Felix von Schroeder in the foreword of this survey of contemporary history. And he proceeds to suggest that we are in the midst of an *Umbruch,* a complete alteration of existing civilization. This transformation is of particular interest to the historian, for it is making the concept of "world history" more meaningful than ever before.

The cogency of Schroeder's statement is self-evident. Its application to the present work is equally apparent, for this is the first of two volumes designed to place the capstone on the *Historia Mundi,* as originally planned by Fritz Valjavec and now being carried out by his co-workers. This initial volume scans the globe along regional or national lines, its emphasis resting heavily upon internal history. The second volume contemplates a more synthetic approach dealing with international relations and global developments in the social, economic, and cultural fields.

The series of essays comprising this volume represents a wide range of authorship. German authorities predominate, but a significant number of native historians are included. Thus Charles Loch Mowat presents a clear and lucid summary of British history since 1918, Jacques Droz a dispassionate and objective analysis of the French scene. An essay of outstanding merit is that of Louis Joos of the University of Dakar on "The African World."

American scholars will find the essay on the United States, written by Erich Angermann of Munich, of particular interest. Although some of his interpretations are debatable, they are also thought-provoking. Angermann sees the 1920's in America as the source of "most of the impulses which have determined the life of the United States during the past forty years." In his eyes this decade was a time of social and cultural change involving not only the apparent elements of economic progress, Fords, flappers, working wives, and divorce, but also of a conflict between rural traditionalists and urban innovators and of a growing cultural pessimism on the part of intellectuals. The coming of the depression,

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he believes, marked the collapse of the classical liberalism that had dominated the country and with it the real end of the nineteenth century.

Angermann follows the career of Franklin D. Roosevelt with appreciation, but notes that the coming of the war saved his image from a sharp decline: a man of Roosevelt's stamp was not designed for "normal times." Truman also receives plaudits for creating in the midst of times of unrest and dissatisfaction an independent policy. Eisenhower, on the contrary, in spite of "faultless decorum, great personal simplicity and modesty," suffered from "lack of personal initiative and creative ideas" and failed to lead America out of its disorientation. As the United States moved into the sixties Angermann found evidence of a more mature society in the tendencies to self-criticism and the increased prestige of intellectuals and in the leadership of an intellectual but "unideological, skeptical politician bound up with the realities" of the day.

Ironically, one of the least satisfactory essays in the volume is that dealing with Germany by Anton Ritthaler. Ritthaler's view of recent German history gives little evidence of the self-criticism that has been one of the outstanding merits of many of his younger contemporaries. The section on Weimar breathes Rightist nostalgia for Imperial Germany; the account of the National Socialist period is turgidly apologetic; the treatment of the postwar era assumes that Germany's plight during this period was totally unjustified.

Although this volume is in many sections a most significant contribution to contemporary history, the publication of the second volume will be awaited with much greater interest. The projected essays promise exciting new approaches, and the names of the contributors command scholarly respect.

Florida State University EARL R. BECK

Ancient and Medieval

PREHISTORY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION. By *Jacquetta Hawkes* and *Sir Leonard Woolley*. [History of Mankind. Cultural and Scientific Development, Volume I.] (New York: Harper and Row for the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. 1963. Pp. xlvii, 873. $12.50.)

THIS first volume of the UNESCO history of the cultural and scientific development of mankind is in fact two quite separate books bound together. Jacquetta Hawkes's 350 pages on prehistory constitute a fine summary of what is known and may be reasonably surmised about mankind's beginnings. The author manages to hold a nice balance between boldness of hypothesis and responsibility to the scrappy data actually available for the reconstruction of human prehistory. Chapter III, "The History of Paleolithic and Mesolithic Cultures," is a small masterpiece of compression and comprehensiveness, and the succeeding essays on "Mind," "Society," "Material Culture," and "Art and Religion" add something to the

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general picture painted in Chapter III. The Neolithic age is dealt with in the same fashion, a general chapter being followed by shorter essays on particular aspects of Neolithic society organized under almost the same rubrics employed for Paleolithic times.

No comparable summary of the state of the prehistorian's art exists elsewhere: global in perspective and coverage, erudite, and, so far as I can tell, accurate as well. The book's only important defect is prevalence of technical jargon. This will make the book heavy going for most readers to whom such a sentence as the following is not likely to be very informative: "In Egypt as in east Africa it was again the Levalloisian tradition that lingered, alike in the Sebilian of Upper Egypt, in the miserable epi-Levalloisian of Lower Egypt, and the Khargan centered on the Kharga oasis."

The second part of the volume, "The Beginnings of Civilization," is far less satisfactory. The fact that Sir Leonard Woolley died before work on the book was completed accounts for some of the deficiencies, for apparently Professor Jean Leclant of Strasbourg University, who was entrusted with the duty of bringing the materials Woolley left behind him to final form, interpreted his task as requiring him not to alter Woolley's text, even when it was clearly in error.

This is, however, by no means the root of the trouble, for such passages are comparatively rare and usually trifling in importance. The fundamental weakness of the book arises from a radically defective conception, poorly executed. The defect of execution results from the fact that whenever Woolley leaves Mesopotamia behind, his information and scholarly judgment weaken. His casual and quite uncritical discussion of China's early history is the most consistent example of slovenly performance, but it is also the case that his remarks about Egypt often fail to reflect recent scholarship. In addition, he occasionally branches off into whimsey, as when he suggests that the architecture of the great stupa at Sanchi in India derives from "the wooden architecture of China"! In fairness, it should also be said that there are passages in the book that seem wise and persuasive, as, for example, the discussion of how the grammatical structure of the Sumerian language facilitated the development of ideographic script. But such passages, by their excellence, point up the unevenness of the work as a whole.

More fundamental, however, is the defective conception that underlies and largely vitiates the entire enterprise. To quote Woolley himself, the "elements that go to make up civilization" are treated "each in turn, abstracted from . . . context." From this dissection "the advance of man in general" is expected to emerge (p. 829; cf. p. 509, "the whole purpose of this book is to trace man's progress . . ."). And although Woolley goes on to say that such a procedure is artificial, and that civilization is a manner of life, not merely a sum of discrete parts, nothing in the scheme of the book allows him to develop this side of human reality.

The assumptions behind such a procedure sound strangely like the eighteenth

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century. Civilization is treated as a single entity. All the past, therefore, becomes a series of steps rising toward the peak of the present. Recognition of the reality of divergent styles of civilization is not entirely suppressed, but successive chapters on urbanism, social structure, techniques, arts and crafts, economic structure, language and writing, science, religion, fine and applied arts, music and literature each run across the civilized world, compelling the author to treat each topic for each civilized society as though a simple one-to-one comparison or equivalence were possible.

From such catalogues of great achievements, even if they were exhaustive, no picture of the past can possibly emerge. Woolley's fifty-page introduction, offering a summary of the political and other events of the Bronze Age, is not an adequate antidote for the incoherence of the whole. How, for example, can Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature be discussed without Egyptian and Mesopotamian religion, which is reserved, of course, for a separate chapter? The answer is to catalogue the emergence of literary genres: the epic, wisdom literature, the hymn, and so forth. But this is puerile, imposing categories of (essentially Greek) literary scholarship upon a past that knew them not, and measuring the achievements of the ancients by their approximation to such categories. Similar gaucheries abound throughout the book and fit it only for the naïve, who are unaware of the pervasive cultural differences between societies and across time, or for the learned, who know already what happened and how it happened and may pick up odd bits of information or an interesting hypothesis amid the ruck of dismembered parts and disjointed fragments that constitute the body of the book.

Hawkes largely escapes this difficulty because so little beyond catalogues of artifacts and artifact assemblages can be known of prehistory. Her general narrative therefore is far larger in the whole, her speculations about human cultural achievements are less burdened by discrete information, and her catalogues of tool types and the rest shrink to appropriately modest proportion. Not so in the second part, where the availability of far greater stores of information painfully demonstrates the defects of a plan generated by squadrons of academic bureaucrats marshaled into a series of committees and commissions whose mere listing requires more than a dozen pages in the front matter of this volume.

University of Chicago WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

THE HERITAGE OF PERSIA. By *Richard N. Frye.* [The World Histories of Civilization.] (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. xvii, 301. $7.50.)

THIS latest volume in an important series devoted to "high-level vulgarization" will add to the established reputation of its author, the Aga Khan Professor of Iranian at Harvard, as a scholar of international distinction in the difficult field

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of Iranian studies. Like the preceding volumes in this series (for example, C. M. Bowra's *The Greek Experience* and Michael Grant's *The World of Rome*), Professor Frye's "scientific-popular" history of pre-Islamic Iran is eminently useful and learned. That it is somewhat less readable is attributable to the conjunction of a complicated subject and a serious concern for scholarship. The problems and uncertainties that abound in Iranian history frequently lead the author to pursue matters which to the nonspecialist will often seem abstruse and minor.

Following an introductory chapter on sources and geographical background—geography accounts for much of the "local self-interest and fierce individualism [that] have been both the bane and the glory of Iran throughout its history"—the six remaining chapters bring together what is known or is as often conjectured about the history of Iran during two millenniums. Chapter II investigates the preliterary period, utilizing evidence from comparative philology and an east Iranian cycle of lays and legends. Frye believes that the origin of the latter material probably coincided with the appearance of the prophet Zoroaster, thereby ensuring his inclusion in the developing epic tradition. The treatment here of Zoroaster's life and teachings illustrates the author's general approach to the many unsettled problems of Iranian history and culture: first the various points of view on a problem are presented (Frye's wide acquaintance with modern languages, including Russian, has ensured the inclusion of all important scholarly opinion), then the criterion of simplicity is employed to support one interpretation or, in many instances, to propose a new one.

The next four chapters—the heart of the book—deal with the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Parthian, and Sasanian periods from the sixth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. With the Achaemenids and their Median predecessors, the scene shifts from eastern to western Iran and from prehistory to history. Yet despite the availability of written sources, the account of the *pax Achaemenica* is replete with problems of historical interpretation, two of which are presented in detail: Darius' seizure of power, "one of the greatest stories and scandals of ancient history," and the fusion of Zoroaster's teachings with the old religious beliefs and practices. Iran's little-known Hellenistic Age receives more than usual attention, with the innovations of Hellenism being balanced against the Achaemenid institutions that were preserved. Even less is known about the neglected and even maligned Parthian era—to Frye, not Iran's "Dark Ages" but an important period of "transition from a world in which Greece was dominant to a new world in which Hellenism was swallowed up by the Orient." Under the Sasanians, this trend culminates in a revived Achaemenid empire with Persians again ruling non-Iranians, a Zoroastrian state church enforcing religious orthodoxy, and a national epic formed from earlier sagas and legends.

A final chapter argues persuasively that the ancient history of Persia needs to be extended beyond the Arab conquest of the seventh century A.D. to the tenth century when the Persian heritage succeeded in transforming a Bedouin Islam

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into a universal culture and faith. "Just as Greek civilisation served as a vehicle for Christianity, so did Iranian civilisation for Islam."

Although Frye's primary concern is with the remarkable continuity of traditions in Iran proper (modern Persia and Afghanistan), much attention is given to the peripheral areas, notably Central Asia and northwest India, into which Iranian culture penetrated. The volume is lavishly illustrated with sixty-four pages of plates, and, in view of the poor state of Iranian bibliography, the specialist will welcome the thirty-two pages of notes and the general reader the six-page annotated bibliography of mainly general works.

Tulane University NELS BAILKEY

THUCYDIDES AND HIS HISTORY. By *F. E. Adcock*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 146. $3.95.)

"THIS book is an attempt to describe Thucydides, his personality, his mind and his fortunes, what he set himself to do and how he did it, and how far." Adcock has for some time been thinking about the composition of Thucydides' *History*, which has been a subject of controversy for about a century, and in this small volume he puts into literary form the conclusions he has reached after a lifetime spent in the study of the Greek and Roman world and its historians.

First I quote Adcock's final judgment: "it appears to the present writer most probable . . . that Thucydides composed his history *pari passu* with events and with his observation of them." The twelve brief essays of Part I are meant to support this thesis. Adcock proceeds through the *History* systematically, analyzing and explaining the subjects and passages most relevant to his inquiry (for example, "The Speeches," "The Ten Years War," "The Exile," "Book VIII," "Revisions and Additions," "Publication").

In Part II ("Interpretations"), after an introductory chapter on "The Early Transmission of the Text," Adcock examines thirteen passages of Thucydides, one of Diogenes Laertios, three of Markellinos, and one of Pausanias; these summary studies are both interpretative and paleographical. An "Index of Passages Cited" and a "General Index" complete the work.

Thucydides tells us that he began to write at the very outbreak of war. If we take this literally (and why should we not?), then he need never have been far behind the march of events, especially after his exile, which freed him from his normal responsibilities as an Athenian citizen. From time to time, of course, he turned back to add, to adjust, to correct. That is, he composed (I imagine, judging from my own practice) very much as the writer of today composes.

I add a few comments on details. The second sentence of I, 97, 2, thinks Adcock, shows that the *Pentekontaetia* was written before rather than after the publication of the *Atthis* of Hellanikos. The speeches represent speeches actually delivered, as Thucydides himself claims (I, 22, 1), and reflect what each situation demanded of the speaker, which was not necessarily the truth. In Book VIII,

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Thucydides may well have enjoyed the confidence of Alkibiades. Chapter XXIII of the first book is part of a preface to the Ten Years' War and was written not long after 421. Thucydides continued his narrative beyond what we have, but this material never reached the redactor. Adcock suggests that Thucydides left Athens during the terror of 404–403, partly to seek further information, and perished at sea (Markellinos), along with the rest of his manuscript, on his way home. Thus his work did not receive a final comprehensive revision.

Adcock does not pretend to have treated the problem of composition exhaustively. But what he does put before his readers makes a nice fundamental case; it has probability on its side, and it is economical. I suspect that this book will come to occupy an important place in Thucydidean studies.

University of British Columbia MALCOM F. MCGREGOR

DEATH OF A REPUBLIC: POLITICS AND POLITICAL THOUGHT AT ROME 59–44 B.C. By *John Dickinson*. Edited and with an introduction by *George Lee Haskins*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. xi, 400. $7.50.)

THIS book has an unusual history. The author, a distinguished jurist at the University of Pennsylvania, died in 1952 and left (we are informed) a "massive history of Roman political thought and institutions," complete to the death of Augustus. His literary executor has taken over ten years to publish this extract covering the years 59–44 B.C. The author has not been entirely fortunate in his editor. The latter is responsible for the catchpenny title and for the division of the work into seven chapters arranged in three "Parts." The general reader, for whom the work is chiefly intended, will be puzzled by flash back allusions to matters not explained in their place, and extracts of up to seventeen lines from modern writers—which the author perhaps intended as temporary props—too often stand in the text. However, the editor has made amends by writing a useful and well-informed introductory chapter on the general background of the late Republic. The publishers have seen fit to reinforce the sales appeal of the title with black binding and end papers, and the title page would not come amiss in a television commercial. Annotation is collected—where it is most difficult to find or consult—at the end of each Part. There is no bibliography or index. It is time for readers to protest against some of the standards of serious commercial publishing.

The editor's introduction is followed by an outline history of the period, with interest centered on Caesar and Cicero; the last two chapters draw general conclusions about the political theory and practice of these two men. The historical outline takes up two-thirds of the book, but offers little that is new or (thus the book jacket) "provocative." One cannot help wondering whether there is still room for the amateur in a complex and much-discussed period of

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history. Despite a few (mostly trivial) references to such works, the author clearly had not read much work published after about 1920 or in a foreign language. Typically, his summary of "almost uniformly eulogistic" modern views on Caesar cites seven works (all in English), ranging from 1845 to 1914; the histories most often cited throughout are Heitland's (1923) and Long's (1864–74). Gelzer's *Caesar* (by far the best biography, which has gone through six ever-improving editions in forty years) was unknown to Dickinson, and Syme's *Roman Revolution,* cited once or twice, had made no impact. Yet these and other scholars (notably Strasburger) have completely transformed our understanding of the period in the last two generations, and no book that does not start from what they have achieved is now worth reading or publishing. Actually, the author would have found much to comfort him in this modern interpretation, which sees Caesar, for example, against the background of his age, as a politician and soldier ruthlessly striving for power and not certain what to do with it. ("He wanted to cut the knot by marching against Parthia" [Gelzer].) That Dickinson had independently arrived at a similar view is greatly to the credit of his acumen and historical perceptiveness. Yet the fact remains that he here offers little that had not already been better done by the time he wrote. For this work is inevitably impaired by lack of real familiarity with the background. Some statements show remarkable misconceptions. Thus Crassus is thought of as "inept and clumsy . . . in political matters"—quite the opposite of ancient judgments—and as unable to win "electoral support" (for what further office?); and Pompey—son of a consul, of a family noble for three generations—is described as suffering under the "social handicap" of being "born of a plebeian family." Caesar is said to have joined Crassus in intriguing against Pompey, thereby dividing the popular party and playing into the hands of the Senate!

Of the last two chapters, the one on Caesar has little difficulty in demolishing some outdated views. It is here that one most misses familiarity with the work of the last forty years, since the results are in many ways close to modern opinion. The chapter on Cicero is the best. It shows, more clearly than much work by specialists, how much valuable thought can be found in Cicero's political works, with their insistence on moral leadership by a responsible elite in an institutional framework. In an age when constitutional safeguards are attacked as outmoded by anyone whom they happen to inconvenience, and when the pretense that there is no elite has merely created one that admits no responsibilities, this was well worth saying. But it might have been better to print it separately, rather than bury it in a large and expensive volume.

Durham University E. Badian

ROMAN BRITAIN AND EARLY ENGLAND, 55 B.C.–A.D. 871. By *Peter Hunter Blair*. [A History of England, Volume I.] (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1963. Pp. xii, 292. $5.50.)

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THIS is the first in a series of eight volumes to cover the entire history of England. The closest competitor to the project is the Oxford series, about twice as big or detailed, and now, in its corresponding first volume, nearly thirty years old. In the period treated by Blair, there have been archaeological advances quite sufficient to justify a new survey. This emerges clearly from his work. While the book extends an invitation to the uncommitted reader through its handsome pages, excellent maps (most, however, lacking a mile scale), clear plates (but why include seven Latin inscriptions?), the very first chapter sets a proper tone: thirty-one pages on the sources, a fine treatment of an essential subject. Readers who would go further can do so through a very short but careful bibliography (though surely Collingwood's section in the *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* could displace Liversidge on *Furniture in Roman Britain*). After the sources follow three chapters on the Roman conquest, three on administration, religion, farming, and so forth, four on the post-Roman invasions and the establishment of the new kingdoms, and two on their inner life. The whole book in fact breaks in the middle, as does the subject itself.

Among trivial matters, everyone will have his own ideas about what is put in or should be. Art history gets especially short shrift. Readers might dispute what is said of Roman citizenship and the London tile stamps and strike out a fair scattering of pointless detail. Who cares about "the double layer of timber strapping to give increased resilience at the south-east corner of Chester" or the "9 strakes on either side of the keel-plank and the inner framework . . . constructed with 26 transverse ribs" in the Sutton Hoo ship? These points belong in dig reports, rewarding because specific and vivid, but requiring a more selective handling than they receive. They certainly should not dictate the very scope of the treatment. Because so many Roman forts have been so carefully dug in the last century, military history is allowed to predominate excessively in a fifth of the whole book, while the slender evidence for more important matters is not fully exploited. And there is a further weakness. Britain is not considered as part of a wider world. The reasons for Claudius' invasion or for the importance of command in the province; the cultural ties with other provinces ("winged corridor" houses); Romanization in general; and, later, the effects of conversion and relations with the Church elsewhere all receive a cursory or very scattered treatment. Yet this excessively narrow focus on Britain isolated is less evident in the second half of the book.

Blair sometimes hides the big points among the little or obscures the continental background of developments within Britain. He has, on the other hand, included whatever is new, to the very edge of controversy; he is extremely accurate; and he weaves together a tremendous number of facts in a smooth, even texture. This much is admirable. A compendious, standard survey is, after all, the hardest kind of book to write, and Blair comes near to complete success.

Brandeis University RAMSAY MACMULLEN

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DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 16. (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1962. Pp. ix, 411. $12.00.)

NUMBER Sixteen of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* presents thirteen articles on various aspects of Byzantine society including art, archaeology, science, medicine, history, liturgical drama, philology, and theology. Milton Anastos' paper, "Nestorius Was Orthodox," is perhaps the most original and startling of all those appearing in this volume, for it presents a conclusion that alters the accepted view of heresiologists and historians in regard to one of the most important events of the fifth century. Basing his discussion upon the Chalcedonian Symbol, Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius, and the Bazaar of Heracleides, Anastos arrives at the conclusion that Nestorius was Dyophysitic and Orthodox, but that his style was so obscure and prolix that great care is needed to disentangle his theological position in these various writings. Anastos performs a philosophical dissection of these works with a lucidity that enables the historian to follow the development of Nestorius' Christology. Beginning with the statement that in Christ there are two natures, the fifth-century patriarch declared that in Christ there are also two substances, two hypostases, and two prosopa. Every living being, he continues, has a substance (*ousia*) from which it derives life, and this substance has a distinct nature (*physis*) which is the totality of its qualities. There can be no nature without a substance. Neither substance nor nature, however, is fully operative without a third element, the prosopon, which reveals them. As Nestorius wanted to safeguard both the divine and human natures of Christ, he rejected Cyril's formula of the "natural" or "hypostatic" union. The two natures and substances could not combine without doing damage to one another. Therefore, when God the Word became man, the two were joined together in the prosopic union.

Philip Grierson "rediscovers" the collection of disparate materials known as the *Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense*. The *Chronicon Altinate* contains a list of the Byzantine emperors, with the length of the reign of each, his obit, place of burial, description of his tomb, and often an account of the circumstances of his death or disposition. After revealing its importance for Byzantine history and archaeology, Grierson evaluates the reliability of the text as a historical source. The last historical study in this volume, Hans Belting's "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," examines the history, church, art, numismatics, and court school of the Langobard principality of Beneventum during the period 758–806. Two papers, Harry Wolfson's "The Problem of the Souls of the Spheres from the Byzantine Commentaries on Aristotle through the Arabs and St. Thomas to Kepler" and Oswei Temkin's "Byzantine Medicine: Tradition-Empiricism," were originally given at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Byzantine Science. The remaining essays are largely concerned with aspects of Byzantine art, philology, and liturgical drama.

University of California, Los Angeles SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

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QUO WARRANTO PROCEEDINGS IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD I, 1278–1294. By *Donald W. Sutherland*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 263. $8.00.)

EDWARD I's quo warranto campaign was slow, incomplete, and, in law, inconclusive. Yet its history opens up a new perspective on Edwardian governance. "The concentration of so many cares in so few hands," Sutherland concludes, "condemned Edward's government to frequent mediocrity." Furthermore, the story of the quo warranto proceedings suggests that the so-called impersonal monarchy of Henry II and Richard I was still, in 1294, a mighty personal one. When King Edward was away on wars in Wales and Gascony, even judicial administration lumbered for "every project seemed to need immediate direction by the king and his council."

The King's objective in 1278 was to restore to the crown franchises usurped or abused and to identify and put on record the terms of lawful liberties. Summons by writ and presentment by jury brought before justices in eyre sixteen hundred suits concerning franchises: wrecks, waifs, and whales; fairs, markets, and tolls; and assizes of bread and ale. Of greater consequence to the crown were the major liberties: the return of writs, crown pleas, and *amerciamenta propria* (exemptions from royal fines). Cases involving points of law might work their way to the King's Bench, to the Council, and a few to Parliament. There, baronial politics came into play and eventually won out. The 1290 statute of quo warranto was intended to check ultraroyalist King's attorneys, like Gilbert of Thornton and Hugh Louther. The King's politics, too, intervened, and Edward's Gascon war prompted the suspension of eyres in 1294; this, in effect, ended the quo warranto campaign.

For sixteen years, however, king's counsel and opposing pleaders produced much good argument, and their juridical ideas worked to augment the royal authority. Sutherland skillfully depicts the nature of king, crown, and regal power, and he presents evidence that pleaders looked upon the crown as an entity apart from the King. One way they used this concept was to invoke the crown's authority to counter the ingenious, antifeudal argument of conquest. William I's companions, so this doctrine ran, were coconquerors who had "conquered their lands with the sword" and so their franchises, too. Hence their descendants, seised of them "since the Conquest," had needed no royal grants to establish their rights. Against just such a claim to hold crown pleas from conquest, Louther argued in 1292: "Pleas of the crown, a franchise touching peace and justice, compose a crown and make their possessor a king; in 1066 only King William conquered a crown. Therefore your ancestor cannot have conquered these franchises." Such delicate interplays of logic, law, and history enabled Sutherland to brighten the story of prolonged litigation that rests, perforce, upon an exhaustive statistology. One bright passage about the relation of franchises to the crown, however, is relegated (out of deference to scientific history, no

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doubt) to a footnote. Just as Maitland conjectured what the judges in the Ship Money case should have said, so Sutherland imaginatively has reconstructed arguments that Louther might have pleaded.

To say that *Quo Warranto Proceedings* carries the imprimatur of the Clarendon Press may seem warrant enough of its author's professional caliber; it also bears the mark of Galbraith's discipline in the art of writing medieval history. However, Sutherland's own talents—clarity of thought, respect for evidence, a forthright style, and, above all, sparkles of historical imagination—are what give his book quality.

Yale University WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

EUROPE IN TRANSITION, 1300–1520. By *Wallace K. Ferguson.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1962. Pp. xiii, 625. $8.00.)

PROFESSOR Ferguson has achieved a remarkable feat of synthesis and integration in what may be described as the most comprehensive one-volume account of the Renaissance to be published in the United States. Although ostensibly a textbook (and one probably destined to become as much a bible of graduate students as *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*), the tone of *Europe in Transition* suggests the historical essay far more than the works of Henry S. Lucas, Albert Hyma, or the two volumes by Pirenne, Hauser, Renaudet, *et al.* in the series "Peuples et Civilisations." Expository detail is frequent in the three chapters on political history, but even in these cases narrative chronology is never permitted to endanger or obscure the author's commitment to the essay of historical interpretation and analysis. It seems reasonable to assume that this book was never conceived as a manual, but rather as an effort to bring together the principal findings of modern scholarship on every major aspect of European civilization from the late Middle Ages to the Reformation. In doing so Ferguson shows the same uncommon gift for precision in the summary of argument that he achieved in his book on Renaissance historiography.

Its title notwithstanding, the book begins with a "preliminary essay" of nearly one hundred pages on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and establishes in this opening section a structure that is followed in the two long major divisions of the book. In each part Ferguson examines, in sequence, the economic order, the social system, the organization of politics, and the historical directions of religion, learning, and art. The longest part of the book is called "The First Period of Transition: 1300–1450." Here Ferguson surveys the varieties of institutional organization and cultural expression, by region, in the early Renaissance, giving as much notice to the resources of tradition as to the energies of innovation; thus in a single chapter the origins of Italian humanism are examined along with the vernacular literature of Northern Europe and the continuities of late Scholastic philosophy and science. The third part of the book, "The Second Period of Transition" (from about 1450 to about 1520), is sepa-

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rated from the previous division by the assumption that the middle of the *quattrocento* was "a turning point and the opening of a new period," "the end of one era and the beginning of another," and "the second stage in the transition from medieval to modern civilization."

Although *Europe in Transition* is steadily informed by monographic scholarship to a degree rarely found in a book of this kind, the dominant perspective of the book—expressed in its title, preface, and interpretive introductions—is Ferguson's familiar assertion that the Renaissance is to be understood as a period of transition from "medieval" to "modern" Europe, and that although elements of both kinds lay mixed together (like good and evil in Burckhardt's *quattrocento*), the transition approaches completion in the sixteenth century. For those who are convinced by Cantimori's rejection of this argument, it is fortunate that the utility of the book is not disturbed by the persistence of Ferguson's language of periodization; this conception can be detached from the body of the book without loss. Those whom Ferguson has not persuaded before will not be convinced now. They may also find themselves puzzled by the admission of certain reservations from the author himself. He seems far more willing, for example, to argue the case for transition in the sectors of economic and political development than he does in treating changes in the social order. During the "Second Period of Transition," he writes, "economic as well as political conditions encouraged the transformation of the Italian urban patriciate into a courtly aristocracy," while in the northern and western states the end of the Hundred Years' War is associated not only with the consolidation of the centralized territorial state, but also with the reconstruction of aristocracies in France, England, and Spain. The author further concedes that the "periodization we have followed thus far applies only imperfectly to the history of art and music," a concession made again in the last sentence of the book. Finally, if the modern world may be represented by such phenomena as the fragmentation of religious obedience, the secularization of values, the separation of *fides* from *ratio,* the doctrine of natural rights, and the fact as well as the idea of political revolution, and if modern society is further to be identified by scientific methodology, industrial technology, and industrial capitalism, then the span of Ferguson's transition to the "modern" world is severely diminished. But the usefulness and the achievement of this book are not. Apart from his arguable Neo-Burckhardtian bias, he presents the varieties and complexity of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with convincing skill, clarity, and erudition.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology RICHARD M. DOUGLAS

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE MEDICI BANK, 1397–1494. By *Raymond de Roover.* [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 21.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xxii, 500. $10.00.)

DISCUSSING abstractions such as the Renaissance or capitalism helps less to give

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us a firm grip on the past than does getting down to particulars with sources at hand to clear up a host of detailed problems, as Raymond de Roover has done. This is by no means merely a new edition of his earlier book, *The Medici Bank;* it is an entirely new book. A fresh treatment on a large scale was made possible, as the author explains in the preface, by Florence Edler de Roover's discovery of the central account books of the Medici bank, 1397–1450, in a mislabeled bundle in the Florentine archives. Other archives, at Rome, Brussels, and Florence, have also contributed to the mass of letters, accounts, contracts, wills, tax records, and so forth that give a firm basis for Raymond de Roover's analysis. His special skill in using such sources and his thorough knowledge of the pertinent work of other scholars enable him to tell authoritatively and in detail the story of the Medici partnerships and its branches. The thoroughness with which he does so would weary a general reader who undertook to plough through every chapter, but it provides facts useful to historians of the period. Moreover it adds significantly to understanding the inner working of many economic institutions, especially the money market, foreign exchange, the alum monopoly, the Florentine textile industry, and the Florentine tax system.

In one of the introductory chapters the author is at pains to explain the difference between the highly respectable great bankers such as the Medici and the manifest usurers. In doing so he inadvertently understates, it seems to me, the extent to which respectable people paid and received what we call interest. When he gets down to detail he disproves his own generalization that "the taking of interest was ruled out" for bankers unless they were manifest usurers, which the Medici were not. The Medici took and paid interest on money deposited "a discrezione." He says, "There was no account for interest income," but also "Interest paid was charged to the account Discrezione and interest received was credited to the same." A slight uncertainty as to the rate of interest on these deposits *a discrezione* was sufficient to exempt them from being considered usurious by the laity, to whom usury was only "any *certain* gain exacted by virtue of a loan." But they were considered usurious by the Church's doctrine that "any increment demanded above the principal" was usury, and I call them interest because current usage calls interest the payments made by savings banks even if the rate varies slightly from year to year. Of course De Roover is right that we cannot say that the Medici disregarded the teachings of the Church. That would be like saying that American big business "disregards" the antitrust laws, ignoring what they pay in lawyers' fees to avoid violation. Medieval bankers believed in the Church's doctrine about usury just as sincerely as American business executives believe in the competitive system—and hate unfair competition. To say by way of introduction that "the taking of interest was ruled out" seems likely to give a false impression although the impression will be corrected by a careful reading of later chapters.

De Roover's analysis of the causes of the failure of the Medici bank has not changed since he wrote his earlier book, which he still recommends as giving "a

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general picture which is substantially correct." Nor has he changed his judgments on the business abilities of Cosimo and Lorenzo. He is able in this book to clarify a few points concerning their relation to the Florentine government and confirms the charges of their enemies. Cosimo did submit falsified tax returns for the *catasto*. His instructions to his manager at Venice and the accompanying balance sheets are quite explicit to that effect. And it is true that Lorenzo the Magnificent dipped into the public treasury to bolster the condition of his bank.

Johns Hopkins University FREDERIC C. LANE

Modern Europe

LES FRANÇAIS ET LE COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL À ANVERS, FIN DU XV^e^–XVI^e^ SIÈCLE. In two volumes. By *Émile Coornaert.* (Paris: Marcel Rivière et Cie. 1961. Pp. 443; 358. 35 fr. each.)

BETWEEN 1460 and 1585 the port of Antwerp became the most important single center of trade on the western coast of Europe. Its rise to this eminence was owing in part to the arrival of such exotic new products as the spices of the East and of such progressive new capitalists as the Fugger of Augsburg. But it was owing at least as much to the transfer to Antwerp of trade in dozens of humbler products by hundreds of simpler merchants. A good proportion of both came from French-speaking areas that form much of Antwerp's natural hinterland and from the kingdom of France itself. To the complex history of this trade Professor Coornaert has devoted more than twenty years of study, and these substantial volumes are the ripe result. Much of this study required research in archives, and Coornaert found visits to those of Antwerp, Brussels, the Gironde, and the Haute-Garonne particularly rewarding. From these and other sources, he gathered much fresh information, summarized in a provisional list of all the French merchants he knows to have traded with Antwerp during this period, and illustrated in a number of appendixes containing transcriptions of sample business papers. Upon all this raw information, and upon the research of such other scholars as Brulez, Craeybeckx, and the De Roovers, Coornaert has made an extended analysis of the conditions of trade in Antwerp and in the various regions of France, and of the men, products, and techniques that bound the two together. He has also indicated problems upon which work remains to be done and sources which would make it possible. And he includes some general reflections on the historical process that, perhaps in reaction to the emphasis on crises characteristic of many contemporary continental historians, dwell on the complexity and slowness of historical change.

Perhaps more could be done with some of Coornaert's information by use of statistical methods. He has had maps and graphs prepared, which, with his list, provide precise information on the geographical and chronological distributions of these merchants. But to most of the many other interesting general

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questions he raises about their activities he supplies only impressionistic answers, and to some of them statistical work might well provide more precise answers (compare the studies of the Bailyns and Delumeau). Even as they stand, however, these volumes make an impressive contribution to the economic history of early modern Europe.

State University of Iowa ROBERT M. KINGDON

THE HUMANISM OF COLUCCIO SALUTATI. By *Berthold L. Ullman.* [Medioevo e Umanesimo, Number 4.] (Padua: Editrice Antenore. 1963. Pp. xvi, 297. L. 6,500.)

JOHN COLET AND MARSILIO FICINO. By *Sears Jayne.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. 172. $7.20.)

THESE two products of mature literary scholarship demonstrate how much insight is to be gained into larger problems of intellectual history through the painstaking examination of detailed documentary evidence. The heart of Ullman's book is the list of over one hundred volumes that once belonged to Coluccio Salutati's library together with the conclusions drawn from these manuscripts, especially from the marginalia, and from the quotations in Salutati's own compositions. The hard core of Jayne's work is an analysis of a copy of the first edition of Ficino's *Epistolae* (1495), rediscovered at All Souls College, Oxford, containing, in Colet's own hand, two letters from Ficino to Colet, one letter from Colet to Ficino, and some five thousand words of Colet's marginal commentary.

Octogenarian Ullman's volume is of the same genre as Pierre de Nolhac's classic *Pétrarque et l'humanisme,* the major difference being that for all his merit Salutati was not Petrarch. For Sandys and Voigt the intrepid chancellor's chief contribution as a civic humanist was the influence of his official letters upon the style of public documents, but Salutati also left a large literary legacy, published and unpublished. Though he belittled his own efforts, his writings are of great historical interest, covering a host of subjects which became standard themes for humanism, such as the *vita activa* or *contemplativa,* the superiority of law over medicine, the essence of true nobility, and *la querelle des anciens et des modernes.* Salutati had no systematic philosophy of his own, except for traditional Christianity, with which he fused a strong strain of Stoicism and certain Platonic elements. His favorite authors were Augustine, Cicero, Dante, Ovid, Petrarch, Seneca, and Virgil; he made much use of Boccaccio and Boethius as well. While Salutati did not know Greek and so was limited to Plato's *Timaeus* and the *Phaedo* in translation, he contributed to the Greek revival and the *bouleversement* of Aristotle by Plato through his efforts in bringing Chrysoloras to Florence and through his influence upon his greatest disciples, Poggio, Bruni, and Vergerio, who called him *communis omnium magister.* Salutati's greatest contribution to historical method lay in the area of philological and textual criticism. In opposition to Alfred von Martin, who held Salutati to have been essentially medieval,

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to Toffanin, who saw Salutati as arriving at medievalism, and to Hans Baron, who believes that Salutati became increasingly medieval with age, Ullman depicts Salutati as growing out of his medievalism into a new Renaissance humanism. It is regrettable that Ullman is not more precise in his definitions when engaging in controversy.

The major significance of the All Souls volume is the support that it gives to the new interpretation of Colet as a Paulinist whose work should be understood primarily in the framework of Christian soteriology rather than as the benign Christian humanist of Seebohm's venerable *Oxford Reformers*. Jayne concludes that Colet was interested in Platonism mainly in his Oxford years and almost exclusively as a source of material for his required theological lectures on the Bible. The marginal notations reveal his moral earnestness, his Augustinian view of human frailty, his lack of confidence in man's ability to reach God by intellectual means, and his intense preoccupation with St. Paul. The notes tend to emphasize the differences between Colet and Ficino, who never met, contrasting Colet's moral zeal with Ficino's intellectual enthusiasm, Colet's search for order and pattern with Ficino's search for mystery and sophistication, Colet's Augustinian ethics with Ficino's Platonic metaphysics, Colet's practical mind with Ficino's theoretical mind. These two volumes together illustrate anew the great diversity among those choice spirits classified as Renaissance humanists, the striking differences between Italian and septentrional humanism, and the supreme value of paleographical skill so rare in our day.

Stanford University LEWIS W. SPITZ

THE SPANISH ELIZABETHANS: THE ENGLISH EXILES AT THE COURT OF PHILIP II. By *Albert J. Loomie, S. J.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 280. $6.00.)

TOLERATION AND DIPLOMACY: THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS, 1603–1605. By *Albert J. Loomie, S. J.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LIII, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1963. Pp. 60. $1.50.)

THE Catholic "problem," "threat," or even "conspiracy" is a standard chapter in any history of Elizabeth's reign, but because of the lack of research in continental archives, it has been difficult to assess the importance of the English refugees who fled to Habsburg lands. Usually they receive only brief mention as organizers of Jesuit missions to England and as advisers to Spain on English affairs. Thanks to Professor Loomie's exhaustive researches, a much fuller account is now available. His description of the careers of five prominent refugees provides a detailed picture of the exiles' activities and problems. Sir Francis Englefield's difficulties in finding "pensions" for deserving compatriots were indicative of their struggles for a livelihood. Hugh Owen's tireless efforts to maintain a spy network came to naught when, like Englefield, he discovered how unreliable

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Spanish support could be. Lady Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria, hoped to assume leadership of the exiles, but they were never able to form a cohesive group. Sir William Stanley, captain of a refugee regiment in Flanders, was constantly frustrated as he sought money and action for his troops, and Father Joseph Creswell, in charge of the English colleges in Spain, had similar difficulties in raising money and morale. Factionalism, lack of money, and the inconstancy of Spain's support are the themes that run through Loomie's book. Only "long proven reliability" could gain "Spanish confidence," but even then the court rarely followed the exiles' abundant advice on English matters. Loomie suggests that Philip II's overriding concern for the Dutch war was responsible for Madrid's indifference to the many plans for an *empresa* against England. Philip was happy to act as the protector of persecuted coreligionists and to make good use of their abilities as spies and soldiers, but he refused them any significant influence on policy.

Loomie's monograph on the peace negotiations of 1603–1605 brings to light an episode typical of the refugees' repeated disappointments. Using hitherto undiscovered documents, he describes Spain's abortive attempt to gain toleration for English Catholics as a provision of the 1604 treaty. Philip III strongly advocated the proposal, but it was unacceptable in London. This curious story of misguided optimism provides new material on James I's Privy Council and the foundation of the "Spanish Faction." Loomie attributes the collapse of the plan largely to James's dependence on recusancy fines after Parliament "refused the impecunious King a sorely needed subsidy." Yet James did not request a subsidy in 1604. While stressing Philip's idealism, Loomie fails to recognize the arrogance and futility of a proposal that never once envisioned reciprocal toleration for Spanish heretics.

A similar shortcoming is evident in his treatment of the exiles. The archspy Owen is "brilliant [and] gifted," whereas Thomas Morgan, a successful counterspy, is "odious" and "sinister." And Stanley's treason at Deventer is awkardly half-excused. One cannot belittle the political objectives of the exiles just because their ultimate aims were religious. Creswell's colleges were not simply innocent places of learning; the men they trained also preached what Sir John Neale has called "contingent disloyalty" to Elizabeth. Although the English government's fears proved to be unwarranted, its determined retaliation against potentially dangerous refugees was not as unjustified as Loomie implies.

Fortunately, this occasional partisanship does not seriously detract from the value of Loomie's work. An important gap has been filled, and in the process much new material has been uncovered that relates to Philip II's court, James's succession, and the lot of the sixteenth-century exile.

Harvard University THEODORE K. RABB

MUSCOVY AND THE UKRAINE: FROM THE PEREIASLAVL AGREEMENT TO THE TRUCE OF ANDRUSOVO, 1654–1667. By *C. Bickford*

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O'Brien. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXIV.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 138. $3.00.)

THIS is a narrative account of the diplomatic and military events in the Ukraine during the thirteen critical years between the initial Cossack agreement to accept Muscovite protectorship and the conclusion of the Russo-Polish treaty awarding Kiev and the eastern Ukraine to Russia. The author has sought to redress the imbalance created by Soviet accounts of a "glorious unification of Great and Little Russia," focusing his attention on the Cossack dominated Ukraine as an important military and political entity in its own right. He has used the often neglected work of *émigré* Ukrainian historians, published Russian documents, interpretations in several languages, and (in the section on the Treaty of Andrusovo) contemporary French and English diplomatic correspondence.

The picture that emerges is one of a buffer region partly under Moslem and partly under Polish control turning at the onset of the Russo-Polish War of 1654–1667 to Muscovy as the least threatening of its immediate neighbors and the only one with which the Orthodox Cossacks shared a common religion. The initial agreement at Pereiaslavl was subject to varying interpretations. The death of Bogdan Khmel'nitskii in 1657 deprived the Cossacks of the strong central leadership needed to sustain an independent political existence. Internal divisions hampered subsequent leaders, and the Ukraine drifted more deeply into the Russian orbit as Russia defeated Poland and as Christendom as a whole became increasingly alarmed about Moslem inroads into Europe.

Anyone reading this book without previous knowledge of the period might not fully realize that this was a time of chaotic massacres, famine and starvation, economic dislocations, and violent religious controversies without parallel even in the tumultuous history of Eastern Europe. The author confines himself mainly to an external narrative of political events (largely extrapolated from Soloviëv), supplemented by inconclusive summaries of formal diplomatic documents and other historians' interpretations. His useful introductory characterization of the internal structure of the Ukraine in the seventeenth century demonstrates an ability to deal with more than the externals of history. But the balance of the work is aggravatingly devoid of interpretation or even of generalization except for the halfhearted use of such unhistorical concepts as "independence movement" or "national sentiment" in the Ukraine. The author's effort to relate Ukrainian events "more directly to the east European politics of that era" is substantially inhibited by his neglect of large areas of relevant published materials: the ranging diplomatic studies of this period by Haumant, Weinstein, Porshnev, and a number of others in recent Soviet periodicals; the works of Shmurlo, Chizhevskii, and A. Florovskii dealing with East-West relations in the period; large numbers of contemporary accounts by foreigners, particularly the ever-perceptive Swedes, most of which are referenced in the Ukrainian study by Kordt; and almost the entire

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vast literature on Russia under Alexis (in particular the basic works of men like Eingorn and Kharlampovich, which deal in depth with the crucial and here neglected subject of Muscovite-Ukrainian ecclesiastical and ideological relations).

The absence of an index is regrettable; the glossary of terms is useful, but brief and marred by a definition of Zemskii Sobor that is completely inaccurate for those of the mid-seventeenth century.

Princeton University JAMES H. BILLINGTON

EUROPEAN POSITIVISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: AN ESSAY IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *W. M. Simon.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 384. $5.95.)

VISITORS to Paris are often surprised to find still standing in the Place de Sorbonne a statue of Auguste Comte, erected "by international subscription at the initiative of Pierre Laffitte." In the century since Comte's death, the founder of organized Positivism has shrunk steadily in reputation and memory, until now he ranks as a relatively minor figure in the history of Western thought. Only the specialist even knows the name of Laffitte, his chief French apostle, and the Positivist movement, which spread widely, if thinly, throughout Europe and the Americas in the second half of the nineteenth century, has been all but forgotten.

To W. M. Simon we owe a very considerable debt for this meticulously prepared inquiry into the diffusion of Positivist ideas in Europe. After two severely compressed essays on Comte and the organized Positivist movement after his death, Simon devotes the greater part of his text to a careful analysis of the extent to which Comte's doctrine actually influenced thought in France, England, and Germany in the nineteenth century, outside the small circle of his avowed followers. In general, the author feels this influence has been much overrated. Renan, Taine, Durkheim, Mill, Morley, Spencer, Wundt, and Mach, among many others, are investigated in detail and judged to owe little or nothing to Comte. At the same time, historians are cautioned not "to go to the other extreme." Comtian Positivism can at any rate take much credit for "the firm establishment of the history of science and of sociology as academic disciplines" and for its encouragement of "the more general tendency to regard society as an object of 'scientific' study." Nonetheless, the results of the inquiry are "overwhelmingly negative."

Although in building up his case Simon occasionally seems to find less obligation to Comte than his own sources acknowledge, by precept and example he has effectively rapped the knuckles of all those intellectual historians who regularly allow themselves the cheap luxury of ascribing vast influence to thinkers without bothering to adduce concrete historical evidence. Even more valuable are the bibliography of writings by and about the Positivists on pages 323–356 and the exceptionally generous supply of bibliographical information in the footnotes.

If Simon's book is still something of a disappointment, the trouble lies chiefly in the author's unwillingness to set his research in a broader perspective. He makes

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only a few incidental attempts to discuss the reception of Positivism in relation to the mental climate of nineteenth-century Europe, and the ideas as such fail to grip his attention at all. The result is a rather narrowly conceived scrutiny of the intellectual biographies of selected nineteenth-century thinkers, which does not even have the merit of yielding many surprises, since for years scholarship has, in any event, tended to minimize Comte's influence. On the other hand, where he does manage to overcome his distaste for general explanation, as on pages 215–216 and in the brief conclusion, he is keenly perceptive.

Wellesley College W. Warren Wagar

PAGINE DI STORIA DIPLOMATICA CONTEMPORANEA. Volume I, ORIGINI E VICENDE DELLA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE; Volume II, ORIGINI E VICENDE DELLA SECONDA GUERRA MONDIALE. By *Mario Toscano*. [Istituto di Studi Storico-Politici, Università di Roma, Facultà di Scienze Politiche. New Series.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1963. Pp. 455; 578. L. 4,000; L. 5,000.)

Professor Toscano, editor of the Eighth and Ninth Series of the *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* is undoubtedly one of Europe's leading diplomatic historians with a remarkable knowledge of the sources and literature in Italian, French, English, and German for the twentieth century. These volumes consist of republications that vary considerably in scope and scholarship. Eight of the nine articles in Volume I were first published between 1936 and 1942. The initial article, on Italy and the Hague Conference of 1899, appeared in 1949.

Some of the items in Volume I reflect the time of composition. The fourth, "The Causes of the Great War and the Warlike Residues of the Treaty of Versailles," skims over these topics in twenty-four pages in a fashion acceptable to Italian readers in 1941. The article on Italy and the European crisis of July 1914 undoubtedly appeared timely in Italy in early 1940. The piece on "The Italian Colonial Problem at the Peace Conference of Paris of 1919" found partial publication in Germany in 1937.

The final article in Volume I, "The Franco-Hungarian Revisionist Accord of 1920," is a scholarly monograph of 134 pages based largely on the Hungarian Foreign Ministry documents of 1919–1920 that were issued in 1939. It ties in closely with the first two articles in Volume II, "The Origins of the Little Entente according to the Hungarian Diplomatic Documents" and "An Unsuccessful Rapprochement of Hungary and Rumania in 1920."

Volume II comprises fourteen articles. All except the first two have appeared since the end of World War II. The four final items deal with the post-Fascist period, and their documentation is necessarily thinner than that for the balance of the items where Toscano's mastery of the materials is most evident. Item four, a discussion of the sources and literature on World War II, was Toscano's great performance at the International Congress at Rome in 1955. In the third item,

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which is suggestive rather than definitive, he points out that while historians have noted no political actions of significance relating to the origins of the war of 1914 taken on the basis of secret agents' reports, World War II and its origins show a number of cases of basic decisions arising from reports of the secret services. The eighth item is a very good piece on "The Intervention of Italy against the Soviet Union in 1941 as Seen from Our Embassy in Moscow." It adds proof, if such be needed, of the German aggression, of Stalin's attempts to avoid war, and of the lightheadedness of Mussolini's decision to join Hitler's attack.

Item six is a careful discussion of the origin of Hitler's "Political Testament" regarding the Brenner frontier. It appeared in 1960, a year before the publication of *Hitler's Secret Book* which abundantly reinforces the thesis.

The article entitled "Regarding Some Falsifications and Omissions of the German White Book No. 2" was first published in 1958. It is an interesting exercise in external criticism. By means of italics Toscano brings out vividly how certain passages and paragraphs were omitted from the texts of German Foreign Office documents as published in the Nazi White Book on Poland. In his comment he indicates the distortions of meaning arising from the mutilations of the texts. I have the impression, however, that something is missing from the article itself. Scholars can be sure of the full texts of the documents that were published in 1956 in Volume VI, Series D, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*. Volume VII of that series, also published in 1956, has a comprehensive tabulation in Appendix IV, entitled "German White Book No. 2: Note on Sources." One searches in vain in Toscano's footnotes for any reference to this table which lists along with many others all of the eight documents that he presents.

Toscano has an interesting discussion of unconditional surrender which, he argues, characterized both World War I and World War II, although the formula was proclaimed only in the second case. The war potential of today is composed in equal measure of military and civilian elements and can terminate, he writes, only with the destruction of the combat capacity of the whole state. Furthermore, he asserts, the propaganda in each camp portrays the struggle as one of good against evil, and evil cannot be negotiated with; hence modern belligerent governments end by becoming victims of their own propaganda.

The ninth item, "The Vicissitudes of the Archives of the Palazzo Chigi and of Mussolini's Diary of Imprisonment, Captured by the Nazis after the Armistice," is based on unpublished German Foreign Office documents. This article is to be compared with the appendix in F. W. Deakin's monumental work, *The Brutal Friendship: Mussolini, Hitler and the Fall of Italian Fascism*.

Department of State HOWARD M. SMYTH

DER FASCISMUS IN SEINER EPOCHE: DIE ACTION FRANÇAISE; DER ITALIENISCHE FASCHISMUS; DER NATIONALSOZIALISMUS. By *Ernst Nolte*. (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag. 1963. Pp. 633.)

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THOUGH Communism has a better market, few modern phenomena have been written about more than fascism, and few have been so superficially treated. Yet fascist politics of violence, demagogic opportunism, and authoritarian national socialism are characteristic phenomena of our time and must be understood as such. For this we lack most of the basic information. Few works illuminate the violent chronicles of the extreme Right outside Germany and Italy; fewer still differentiate between moderates and radicals of the Right. The mass of facts remains obscure.

It is in this perspective that we must view the present book, its value and its weaknesses. Dr. Nolte tries to achieve a synthetic view of fascism in its time, that is, in ours. Fascism, for him, dominates and characterizes our time as the Reformation did the sixteenth century: a phenomenon whose diversity nowise precludes a fundamental unity of expression and circumstance. This unity Nolte seeks to grasp through three case studies: of the *Action Française,* Italian Fascism, and Hitlerian National Socialism. After discussing the fundamental problems of method and conception, the work reviews those enemies of democratic theory and practice who, in the course of time, forced their very opponents into critical self-examinations, eventually and insidiously constraining liberal society to turn in the direction of its most illiberal challengers. Nolte takes fascism in the broadest and perhaps most controversial sense to include not only the two great pragmatic revolts against democratic liberalism, but also their doctrinaire and didactic French predecessor, which he presents as their phenomenological introduction. It is less the practice than the concept of fascism that interests him, but whereas the slender "practice" of the *Action Française* appears as the consequence of its doctrine, the doctrine of Italian Fascism is a mere derivation of its practice, and the practice of Nazism the indispensable fulfillment of a vivid but incomplete structure of prejudices. Thus Hitler, the opportunistic doctrinaire, is compared to Mussolini, the doctrinaire opportunist, and both with that inopportune doctrinaire, Maurras.

Nolte's insistence on doctrine and his synthetic presentation sometimes suggest a coherence that more detailed observations contradict. The shadow of Maurras's "patriotic lie," or of Mussolini's original Marxism, may stretch less far than he suggests, and their lives reflect less psychological or ideological necessity than the shifts and changes of outrageous fortune. But the author is more philosopher than historian; unity concerns him more than diversity, synthesis more than detail. This is less a criticism than an observation, and, withal, the book provides a splendid and suggestive discussion of its theme: scholarly, subtle, full of insights.

The history of fascism can use careful reading, and this, although his sources are mostly familiar ones, Nolte gives us, coupling scholarship with imaginative interpretation. He brings out the monomaniacal narcissism of the *Action Française* and places Italian Fascism in perspective as the creation of a long-time Marxist, illuminating the similarity of circumstances that prompted not only Mussolini's reaction against socialism but Lenin's too. His Mussolini is a radical,

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and the Fascism of the early 1920's less the *bourgeois jacquerie* some took it to be than a movement as antibourgeois as it was antisocialist. Only in the make-believe circumstances of Salò was Fascism free to show its true doctrinal colors, shedding the pragmatic opportunism of the intervening twenty years for the totalitarian socialism of an earlier day.

These are controversial views, but they go a long way to suggest an aspect of fascism that has received little attention. It is equally refreshing to find a German book that presents in their true perspective the ill-founded German claims for sympathy over Versailles and its effects. Not foreign but German ill will brought the Weimar Republic into dire straits, and Nazism was no more a reaction to alien pressures than the *Alldeutscher Verband* of an earlier day. Nolte is also right when he insists that fascist movements are easy to crush by a determined state: a whiff of grapeshot would have dispersed the dampened march on Rome, as it shattered Hitler's Munich *Putsch* a year later. Examining the social mythology of fascist movements, Nolte reminds us that enthusiasm and joyous self-confidence are parts of totalitarianism, like the violence and terror whose exhilarating counterpart they provide, and that even glorification of "the enemy" can be a titillating form of self-exaltation. His discussion of anti-Semitism makes clear that this disgusting phenomenon is more than a mere relict of medieval prejudice or the expression of petty bourgeois resentments—in certain circumstances, "a moment of the national self-awareness itself." He compares fascism to Bolshevism, with which it shares so many structural characteristics, and with the bourgeois society whose outgrowth and foe it is—the deadly mistletoe of liberalism—and his concluding attempt to view fascism in philosophical and metaphysical perspective is highly suggestive.

Inevitably, a work of such scope has its lacunae and debatable points. The comparison of the three movements is often illuminating. Yet I do not find this particular trinity as obvious or as satisfactory as the author seems to do. The *Action Française* was intellectually influential, but other French movements came closer to the fascist pattern than Maurras or Vaugeois ever got. While Nolte's reasons for finding it "fascistoid" are well presented, we would do well to remember Maurras's own insistent and consistent denials. But if the inclusion of the *Action Française* is debatable, the absence of more truly fascist movements and philosophies is regrettable. Naturally, if Falange, Iron Guard, Rex, and others get such short shrift, the paucity of information is mostly to blame. Yet fascism "in its time" must be viewed in its wide diversity, and its different aspects (for example, in the underdeveloped societies of Eastern Europe as compared to the industrial societies of the West) must be examined in context. This still remains to be done, but Nolte has given us a rich and thoughtful book that will remain for a while our best introduction to a fascinating and crucial story.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

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POLAND BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: SOVIET AND GERMAN DIPLOMACY TOWARD POLAND, 1919–1933. By *Josef Korbel.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 321. $6.50.)

Professor Korbel's story is one of national hatred: German, Russian, and, to a lesser extent, Lithuanian hatred of Poland. Relying mainly on the microfilmed sections of the German Foreign Ministry archives, he pictures the continuing hopes and efforts of German and Soviet diplomats, politicians, and military men to force Poland's retreat from its boundaries of 1921. There would seem to have been little serious consideration either in Moscow or in Berlin of coexisting with Poland. The Poles, on the other hand, emerge from these pages as twentieth-century Don Quixotes, ready to tilt with either or both of their large neighbors and at the same time cavalierly negligent of their interests in Paris and London.

This account has a strong flavor of inevitability. Whatever the opportunities, whatever the new thoughts, Russian and German officials in the end always yielded to their hatred of Poland. Even the new course of 1933–1934, described in the last few pages of the book, appears to be only a momentary lull. Upon finishing, the reader is left with an image of "a stubborn and deceitful diplomatic struggle," which, once Germany and Soviet Russia felt the time was right, could only have one result: the "fourth partition" of Poland. Although the author repeatedly insists that an understanding between the three states was essential for European peace, he himself does not show how this was possible. Poland, Germany, and Russia alike seem to have run only on a fixed, collision course.

Unfortunately Korbel seems too concerned with depicting political atmospheres in Berlin and Moscow. His account suffers from vague detail. He posits, for example, the problem of Poland's frontiers as the main focus of Russian and German hatred, but he never discusses the character of Poland's boundaries. Thus he apparently identifies the "Curzon line" with "the Polish ethnographic line" and "the ethnic line of the Soviet-Polish boundary," but he also speaks of "the Polish Vilna." The reader is left to his own devices to understand what all this means. The very concept of a "Curzon line" has itself been the subject of lively controversy, but Korbel ignores this problem completely. As another such example, he discusses the proposed Franco-Soviet nonaggression pact of 1927 without making clear its context, namely the desperate Soviet efforts to avert a demand for the recall of Khristian Rakovski, the Russian *polpred* in Paris. Ultimately, if one examines the detail, he finds that the author's theme of inevitability is problematic. Korbel's account seems, in fact, to be one of the failures of Moscow and Berlin, during the 1920's, to forge a sustained anti-Polish front.

University of Wisconsin Alfred Erich Senn

HISTORICAL ESSAYS, 1600–1750, PRESENTED TO DAVID OGG. Edited by *H. E. Bell* and *R. L. Ollard.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. x, 274. $7.00.)

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Now and then, among the mass of *Festschriften,* appears one that shows unusual affection and care in the editing. Mr. Ogg should be highly pleased with this volume. The eleven essays reflect his own interests. Eight deal with English affairs, but of these eight, one, on seventeenth-century American historiography, by B. D. Bargar of the University of South Carolina, is a bow to the several years Ogg spent at various southern universities, and another, by one of the editors, relates an amusing if unimportant episode in the history of his own New College.

Any good historian follows the careers of his students and colleagues. These essays run a gamut from what seems an expanded version of a highly competent tutorial essay, through almost all the stages in the possible development of the scholar, to brilliant and clarifying generalizations, possible only for a mature historian, master of his field, found in Professor Trevor-Roper's article, longest in the volume, on Scotland and the Puritan revolution. Often a historian's students leave history for other fields; it is pleasing and in character to see that the editor of *The Listener,* Maurice Ashley, should have chosen to write on the fame of James II through two hundred years. Other essays also display versatility. Careful use of manuscripts, in Ogg's youthful days not thought in England to be of great importance, is seen in Penry Williams' essay, the wittiest in the volume, on the slow growth of law and order on the Scottish border in the early 1600's, and in J. S. Bromley's account of the damaging effects of French privateers on English trade in the War of the Spanish Succession. The value of a literary text is shown by John Buxton's fine introduction to a perplexing poem by an independent-minded royalist, which utilizes the style and values of Sidney's Arcadia to comment on the state of England in 1644. H. K. Andrews' article on the Italian musician Vivaldi is admirably designed for an encyclopedia of musical biography.

Three essays deserve separate comment. Christopher Hill's sympathetic account of the often maligned Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, during Cromwell's time, shows the lasting effects of its brief and, in an age of no great administrative efficiency, fairly competent control. It is a job so well done that it does not need to be done again. Peter Laslett and John Harrison, utilizing hitherto unused materials, have presented some startling conclusions about Stuart social structure in an essay in historical demography that will turn, it is hoped, into a book. Trevor-Roper's article is one that every teacher of Stuart history will wish that he might have seen years ago. It is a brilliant interpretation of Scotland's place in the Civil War, and of Scotland itself. Scotland, for reasons he makes quite clear, thought that its understanding of Presbyterianism was the same as that of the Puritans and of Parliament. This mistaken assumption explains those mysterious shifts in Scottish policy in the 1640's.

Ogg's contribution to the stream of Stuart history is perhaps better suggested by these essays than by his own bibliography, much curtailed, by R. L. Rickard. Ogg had two great books, but if all his incidental reviews and writings had been

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included, the number would be at least thrice that of the twenty-six entries in the bibliography, all of them pertinent, concise, informed as to modern scholarship, and well worth listing.

Cape Porpoise, Maine STANLEY PARGELLIS

UNPUBLISHED SCIENTIFIC PAPERS OF ISAAC NEWTON: A SELECTION FROM THE PORTSMOUTH COLLECTION IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE. Chosen, edited and translated by *A. Rupert Hall* and *Marie Boas Hall*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xx, 415. $11.00.)

THE Portsmouth Collection is the vast archive of Newton manuscripts which passed through Newton's niece to the earls of Portsmouth and thence (with some subtractions) to Cambridge University in 1872. The Halls, in introducing the present selection from these, ruefully remark that though Newton's correspondence has begun to be published in full, no complete edition of his writings, either printed or unprinted, is contemplated. Where the selected manuscripts are in Latin, the Halls give the original plus an English translation.

The selections include two early papers on mathematics, a scheme for university education, elementary accounts of cosmography and astronomy, and animadversions upon the atheistic tendencies of Cartesian physics. Incomparably the most important contents of the book are rejected drafts for the *Principia,* together with other manuscripts that supply a gloss upon cryptic passages in the published text. The upshot is that the Halls delineate almost an alternative *Principia* that would not have been adamantine in its geometrical certainty and hermetically sealed against all speculation, but framed at either end by hypotheses that Newton could not verify. It has commonly been supposed that Newton's sole venture in this speculative vein was the famous "Quaeries" appended to the *Opticks*. We now discover that the latter had been anticipated in tone and substance alike in discarded drafts for the *Principia*.

Briefly put, Newton originally intended in the preface and the (totally suppressed) *Conclusio* to the first edition to broach the theme of the forces operating between atoms and other invisible particles. He had explained "the System of this visible world, as far as concerns the greater motions which can easily be detected." Now he invited others to emulate him in accounting for "the motions of the particles in hot bodies, in fermenting bodies, in putrescent bodies, in growing bodies, in the organs of sensation and so forth." He could testify that nature is "exceedingly simple and conformable to herself." As the motions elucidated by him depended upon attractive forces between visible bodies, he suspected that the motions internal to objects depended upon "the lesser forces, as yet unobserved, of insensible particles." As he went on to make clear, Newton was prepared to entertain the hypothesis of mutual repulsion between such particles as well as attraction. He did not pretend that these forces had actually been

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demonstrated. The task was to devise "fitting experiments" to test "whether there are forces of this kind in nature, then what are their properties, quantities and effects."

In the end, however, Newton with his morbid sensitivity to criticism and need to take his repose upon irrefutable theorems deleted these speculations from the *Principia* and left it the unassailable monument of geometrical demonstration that we know. Now that the Halls have supplied this admirable edition, we need never again confuse the man with the book.

Harvard University DONALD FLEMING

ENGLISH LANDED SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *G. E. Mingay*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. x, 292. $6.75.)

ENGLISH LANDED SOCIETY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *F. M. L. Thompson*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 374. $7.50.)

THESE two volumes are welcome additions to the studies now coming out under the editorship of Harold Perkin of the University of Manchester: books that tend to fill the need for something between the specialist's monograph and the general history.

G. E. Mingay of the London School of Economics, following the lead of Habakkuk, Namier, and other pioneers, elucidates a social pattern, the broader outlines of which are pretty well known. But a reader who has not the background, nor the time to discover for himself the story of the landed people of the eighteenth century from their own colorful writings or from the more tedious figures of their estate papers, will find this a useful book. Great landlords, lesser landlords or gentry, and the smaller men whom the author rather ingenuously labels "owner-occupiers" provide the framework. Naturally the growth of great estates, so dominant a feature of the age, and the role of the great landlords in society, politics, agriculture, and even industry, claim the greater share of the book, but the smaller men get some attention. One finds here no startlingly new interpretations, but additional evidence places the author among the revisionists on several counts. The owner-occupiers do not "disappear" as completely as was once thought, and the ill effects of the enclosures are held to have been "earlier exaggerated." The "Industrial Revolution" per se is not a part of the story, but something of the landed man's role in it is well told. The author sees both the strength and the defects of the social structure that he depicts. The majority of the landed aristocrats, he says, "no doubt fell somewhere between the two extremes [of roguery and honor]," and were probably "mediocre in talent, moderate in opinion, imperfect in morality, but tolerably honest and reasonably fair," a statement which in itself shows the effect of the eighteenth-century company he has been keeping.

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F. M. L. Thompson of the University College, London, is in a less well-worked field, the rise of the industrial classes and the emergent worker having so long dominated the nineteenth century. His own studies, however, along with those of several other English scholars, and David Spring and his cohorts on this side of the Atlantic, promise to redress the balance. Probably the thing this book does most thoroughly is to show how slow the "decline" of the nineteenth-century landed aristocracy actually was and how long-lived the pattern it fostered even when it was taken over by new men. The author agrees with those who discount the effects of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the Corn Law controversy on the social structure, and he sides with T. W. Fletcher in thinking that the universality and severity of the 1873–1896 agricultural depression have been overestimated. His discussion of the methods of estate management is enlightening.

Neither of these volumes is a great book, though they are both good ones. Their strength lies chiefly in the fact that they have integrated the best of current scholarship, their own and that of others, thus giving body to the subject, and that by their use of fresh illustrative material from great private collections, some but recently made available, they have pointed up the almost limitless possibilities that there await further research. Their full use will require many hands. But surely it is work that must be done if we are to know as much as we need to know about English landed society.

Vassar College MILDRED CAMPBELL

WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE DARDANELLES: A DIALOGUE IN ENDS AND MEANS. By *Trumbull Higgins*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. xi, 308. $6.95.)

LIKE his earlier *Winston Churchill and the Second Front* (1957), Higgins' new volume is certain to be a controversial contribution to what the author calls the history of the higher direction of war in Great Britain. That first book has already illuminated Higgins' lack of enthusiasm for Winston Churchill's gifts as a military strategist. Here we have a second demonstration of the same judgment. Based largely on papers of the Committee of Imperial Defence, particularly those of Asquith, Lloyd George, and Bonar Law, and supplemented by the memoirs of Lord Hankey, this is not so much a study of Churchill's shifting relationship to the Dardanelles expedition as a full-dress political analysis of the Gallipoli question. Indeed, half the uneasiness that a reviewer feels about the book might have been brushed away by changing its title. Churchill is clearly Higgins' King Charles's head. In this case at least, the quarrel between easterners and westerners on wartime strategy goes much beyond the role of the fiery young First Lord of the Admiralty, so that the title, as Higgins' own analysis shows, is a dangerous distortion of the issues involved.

As for those issues, Higgins is obviously a supporter of the westerners, who saw in an eastern campaign a costly diversion of men and resources from the

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main theater of war. Here again, he weakens his argument by claiming too much originality for himself. It is really going too far to insist that hitherto the military leaders have been blamed for the Dardanelles fiasco and that civilian politicians have been exonerated. Higgins' attempt to redress the balance by once again parading the muddle and ambivalences of the politicians is not particularly novel; nor is his defense of the military leaders especially convincing. From his own careful display of the evidence, in fact, one sees soldiers and civilians alike faced by war on a new scale and seeking almost blindly for new strategic conceptions to cope with new conditions. Surely then, it is not Churchill, the easterner, who should be the *bête noire* of Gallipoli. Rather it was the character of the war itself, opening up the grim prospect of unprecedented blood letting and forcing men to make decisions for which nineteenth-century military doctrine offered no sure leads, that precipitated the frantic search for viable military solutions as it encouraged the confusions and mistakes that resulted. Higgins has given us a most convincing account of these confusions and mistakes. But his conclusions about the "appalling inadequacies" of the cabinet as an instrument for the direction of war strategy remains unproved, above all if one gives some serious consideration to the alternatives.

Rutgers University HENRY R. WINKLER

DIDEROT ET *L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE*. By *Jacques Proust*. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1962. Pp. 621.)

DIDEROT's career and thought in his pre-*Encyclopédie* years have atrracted the attention and favor of such scholars as Franco Venturi and Jean Pommier, and now M. Proust, despite modest protestations to the contrary, has added to their work what might be considered a study of Diderot's middle period. His investigation of the two decades of Diderot's association with the *Encyclopédie* contributes substantially to an understanding of the mature philosopher. Indeed, it is the special point and virtue of this book that Diderot's *Encyclopédie* years were for him years of maturity, enrichment, and affirmation. Rather than viewing them as an interruption or plateau in Diderot's intellectual development, Proust finds them crucial years, during which Diderot purified and recast his ideas and the works of his youth. During this period of development and reconstruction Diderot worked out and began finally to express certain basic moral principles founded upon his realization that Christian ideals were not a sufficient foundation for a "scientific" morality. He also clarified and formulated certain political principles, a product of his amalgamation of old ideas with theories of natural law. All the while, he was directing and participating in the study and panoramic description of the vast and burgeoning productive forces, the arts and crafts, of his time, which tended to give substance to the concept of progress. This all found its way into the *Encyclopédie* and made a mighty appeal to those bourgeois, potentially revolu-

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tionary, segments of society with whom Diderot worked and for and to whom he spoke.

Proust concludes then that Diderot, as well as the publishers and readers, profited greatly by his lengthy collaboration on the *Encyclopédie,* a conclusion based on the compilation and examination of impressive evidence. For example, he delineates with greater care than has been customary the articles that Diderot actually wrote for the *Encyclopédie:* they are really comparatively few, and not at all hack work (there are useful appendixes listing articles falsely attributed to Diderot, correcting texts of his articles, and indicating the sources that he used for certain articles). This examination in no way diminishes Diderot's role as the guiding spirit who shaped and formed the *Encyclopédie,* and Proust's conclusions about the importance of the *Encyclopédie* years to Diderot's thought and development, seen now in proper light, seem incontrovertible.

But this book is also more than merely the study of one man and his ideas: it is a fresh look at the world in which Diderot worked and the *Encyclopédie* appeared. This is shown in the examination of Diderot's associates and collaborators (again supported by a detailed appendix) and his relations with them, by an appraisal of the subscribers, the "audience" for the *Encyclopédie,* altogether revealing of the bourgeois-functionary milieu of the mid-eighteenth century. Much of the fascinating story of the huge (in eighteenth-century terms) commercial enterprise, which the publication of the *Encyclopédie* was, is made clear. If some (Brunetière, or Grosclaude, or Torrey) have examined more closely the intricate relations of Diderot, Le Breton, and the censors, the story of these struggles has not been slighted here. Proust is not the stylist his literary namesake was, but it would be difficult to imagine a more thorough gathering in one place of factual information relating to Diderot during the years of his association with the *Encyclopédie.* This book may not be the last word on Diderot—his post-*Encyclopédie* years remain to be subjected to such intensive monographic treatment—but it moves significantly toward that end.

Portland State College CHARLES A. LE GUIN

LES RÉVOLUTIONS (1770–1799). By *Jacques Godechot.* ["Nouvelle Clio": L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 36.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 410. 20 fr.)

STUDENTS and researchers in the field of the French Revolution have had available for almost a generation the volume in the "Clio" series by Louis Villat, *Les assemblées révolutionnaires (1789–1799),* Volume I of *La Révolution et l'Empire* (1936). Now they also have this volume in a "Nouvelle Clio" series, which in part supplements and in part replaces the older work. It is a much smaller book, and for comprehensive bibliographies and the *état des questions* on many points, one must still turn to Villat, or elsewhere. But for recent bibliography, which Godechot emphasizes, and for the current status of some of the more basic ques-

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tions on which historians have disagreed, one can turn to the Godechot volume with confidence. One such basic question, of course, revolves around the dispute between historians who have been "révolutionnaires" and those who have been "conservateurs," and a short but admirable chapter is devoted to the historiography of this old quarrel. The discussion of Taine, for example, is refreshingly objective. There are neat summaries of recent research on demographic developments in the eighteenth century and on social class structure in the old regime, and the author has drawn on his own work in French institutional history. A particularly useful chapter presents the various viewpoints that have appeared in print and in discussion at recent meetings on the subject: "Révolution française ou révolution occidentale?"

The author has relied extensively on his own two-volume study, *La grande nation* (1956), but he acknowledges the contributions of others, notably Robert Palmer, whose first volume of his work, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959), has brought into focus for the first time the over-all pattern of unrest and revolution in much of the Western world in the last half of the eighteenth century. Thus, Godechot's volume is appropriately entitled *Les révolutions,* and he is alert to note the international setting and interrelationships of the various national stories. Needless to say, it is no mean feat for a Frenchman to speak as he does of the "phase française de la Révolution," even though much greater emphasis is given, quite properly, to the French Revolution. But he recognizes that, while the chronological scope of his volume is limited to the 1770–1799 period, the latter year has no great significance in the larger story of the revolutionary period that was to continue until the general reaction of 1849–1850.

University of Arkansas GORDON MCNEIL

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Norman Hampson*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 278. $5.75.)

NORMAN Hampson, senior lecturer in French history and institutions in the University of Manchester, has written an admirable, brief history of the French Revolution. To most Americans, accustomed to understand by "social history" essentially an account of the habits, traditions, daily life, ways of thought, and feeling of a whole people as in the well-known Schlesinger-Fox "History of American Life," the title of this book will be misleading. Hampson is concerned here with the general course of the French Revolution, with its origins, development, and consequences. He does not dwell in detail with the narrative history of great events like July 14; nor does he attempt individual biographical sketches of the makers of the Revolution. This is not a history textbook in the American sense of the term. Its major concern is in fact politics—politics in the widest sense that the word has, or ought to have, for the social or behavioral sciences.

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If you hold that all historians of the Revolution can be sorted, as Pieter Geyl did with historians of Napoleon I, into those for and those against, Hampson would have to be numbered among those for, but by no means far out toward the extreme of partisanship. It is true that in his bibliography there is no mention of Taine, Cochin, Madelin, Gaxotte, Mortimer-Ternaux, and others clearly far Right of center, though there is mention of historians Left of center of roughly the same range in time. It is also true that he seems to share with most writers favorable to the Revolution, not merely the Marxists, a certain distrust of historians who emphasize the role of ideas in political life, and in revolutions in particular.

Yet something, perhaps merely his British willingness to entertain ambivalences—or, as we used to say, make compromises—has kept him aware of much first brought out by historians on the whole hostile to the Revolution. He can write that the deputies of the majority in the National Assembly in July 1789 "were saved by the spontaneous action of the middle class in most of the French towns, and notably in Paris." But he has earlier admitted, as few French historians of the Left have admitted, that we are not certain that what they were saved from was a military *coup d'état* engineered by the Court; and in his account of the rioting in Paris he dares even suggest that there may have been what used to be called the "Orleanist plot." In short, though he often uses the nobler language of spontaneity, resistance to oppression, the solidarity of *les militants,* the natural and reasonable resistances of men under man-made sufferings, his actual accounts of what went on are realistic, complex, aware of the place of the irrational in human behavior, and yet without any display of Rightist or merely righteous indignation.

The author is especially good in his first chapter, "France on the Eve of the Revolution," where he makes full use of the excellent recent work, French, English, and American, that has been done on eighteenth-century France. A comparison between his account and, for example, that of E. J. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution* (1892), suggests that history is perhaps a cumulative discipline. His final chapter, "The Aftermath," is a balanced summary of what the French Revolution has meant to our Western civilization, and a useful makeweight to Cobban's *Myth of the French Revolution.* Though one guesses Hampson would not quite like it put this way, he seems to me to conclude that it is precisely the "myth" of the French Revolution (in Sorel's, not in Cobban's, sense) that has kept it in Palmer's words "the cross-roads of the modern world."

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

THE FRENCH ARMY: A MILITARY-POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Paul-Marie de la Gorce.* Translated by *Kenneth Douglas.* (New York: George Braziller. 1963. Pp. vi, 568. $10.00.)

DARE CALL IT TREASON. By *Richard M. Watt.* Introduction by *John Elting.* (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1963. Pp. viii, 344. $5.95.)

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THE purpose of Paul de la Gorce's richly detailed, sophisticated, and dispassionate study is to show the reasons and the circumstances that tempted the French Army to become a permanent, disruptive participant in the political life of the nation it presumably served. It is much more than a military history; much more, indeed, than a history of civil-military relations. Rather it is a far-reaching analysis of the relationship between the army and society in the totality of the French political, social, economic, and intellectual setting. As such, it is a major contribution to an understanding of France since the 1890's.

Two epochs, De la Gorce contends, "confront each other." Prior to the 1930's the army was largely content to play its traditional role as "la grande muette." Obviously there were instances of political conflict and crisis—who can ever forget Captain Dreyfus?—but these could be and were resolved, as much by the desire of the civilian government as at the wish of the army hierarchy. The great watershed was the mid-1930's, at a time "when bourgeois society was shaken to its foundations," and when increasing numbers of military men persuaded themselves that the "enemy" was not the German foe identified by traditional patriotism but rather the forces of Marxism, internal as well as external. From that moment in 1935 when the first officers formed secret networks, the road to political involvement led directly through Vichy to May 13 in Algiers.

Nearly half of the volume describes the evolution of the French military mind since 1945. In the rice paddies of Indochina military men discovered an unshakable connection between "the universal struggle against communism" and the new nationalism they were fighting. It was then but a short step to the ultimate heresy born in North Africa; the army convinced itself that, in killing Algerian Moslems, it was not only defending the entire West against Communism but also protecting the French nation from the treason of official Paris. Though De la Gorce believes that the crisis is now at least temporarily resolved, he is not sanguine for the future. "The Republic must remain bourgeois," he warns, "lest the Army cease to be Republican."

The French Army is not an easy book to read. The author makes few concessions to those who do not have the details of French political history at their fingertips, and his translator has a clear preference for the complicated phrase. There is, unfortunately, neither bibliography nor footnotes, making it impossible to check the sources on which judgments are based.

Dare Call It Treason will immediately frighten off any serious scholar who has the misfortune to read the blurb on the dust jacket, for it is proclaimed to be "the story of thirty years of political corruption and military incompetence that brought the French army to mutiny in 1917." The book, however, is better than its advertising, but just barely so. The accounts of conditions in the trenches, of military operations, and of the mutinies themselves are readable and sound. But Mr. Watt, an amateur historian writing about a subject that has fascinated him since his undergraduate days, is not "revealing" a history that has been long

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suppressed; nor has he tapped sources unknown or unfamiliar to professional military historians.

The book has serious flaws that destroy most of its other merits. Watt concentrates upon scandal and sensation as if there were no other dimension to French political life. He is one of those many Americans who know the French language but who do not understand the French nation. There is no excuse for his gaudy account of the trial of Mme. Caillaux in 1914 other than a deliberate attempt to titillate those who must have their French history packaged in scandal.

More serious are the weaknesses in his attempt to establish a cause and effect relationship between the army mutinies and what he calls the "political pacifism" of 1917. Watt is, first of all, inconsistent; at one point he reverses his argument and confesses that the mutinies were not as much a manifestation of political restlessness as simply "a convulsion of exhausted troops." Secondly, Watt writes solely from the point of view of the French Right and from the perspective of the conservative military hierarchy. He has neither sympathy for nor understanding of those who sought a negotiated peace or who would have settled for less than the total defeat of the Central Powers. His harping on the "sins" of Caillaux and Malvy is a page out of *l'Action Française* and not serious history. It is indeed regrettable that Watt could not have read De la Gorce's mature and objective account of these same events. The latter demonstrates how the net effect of the Russian Revolution and the French mutinies was to establish, in the minds of the conservative bourgeoisie, "an equation between treason and the Left." Watt, however, has not only accepted that equation, but has fallen victim to it.

Princeton University RICHARD D. CHALLENER

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1932–1939). Second Series (1936–1939). Volume I (1er JANVIER–31 MARS 1936). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939–1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1963. Pp. lxxi, 756.)

THIS is the first volume to be published in the great new series of *Documents diplomatiques français,* which will cover, in the fullness of time, the entire period from 1919 to 1939. Why begin with 1936? The question is answered in the extremely interesting introduction to the present volume, which describes what happened to the archives of the Quai d'Orsay for the period between the wars. In brief, thousands of file boxes of documents were either destroyed intentionally by the French in May 1940, carted off by the Germans, or burned inadvertently in a fire that broke out in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1945. In the years since then, the *Service des archives* and the *Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939–1945* have laboriously "reconstructed" thousands of pieces missing from the central files by locating copies in the post

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records or in the hands of former officials and by making photocopies to fill the gaps left by the missing originals. The result of this labor was that the files for Europe, 1930–1939, were the first to be reconstructed in so far as that could be done. This fact argued for a deferment of publication plans for the period 1919–1929. The commission itself then decided (with good judgment) that the problems of 1930–1931 really belonged to the post-Versailles period and that it would be more appropriate to begin the series with the new situation resulting from the termination of German reparations at Lausanne.

And so the present project will cover the period from July 9, 1932, to September 3, 1939. The publication will be divided into two series (1932–1935 and 1936–1939) which are proceeding simultaneously. Thus it happens that the first volume to be completed and published is marked as Second Series, Volume I, covering the period January 1 to March 31, 1936.

Despite these years of Herculean effort to rebuild the files, the editors in chief (Maurice Baumont and Pierre Renouvin) explain in their introduction that certain types of documents could not be reconstructed from any source. In general only those papers could be recovered which had been registered and of which copies had been distributed fairly widely, as in the case of telegrams and dispatches. The gaps could not be filled with respect to top-level memoranda of conversation, notes and letters addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other papers of a highly confidential nature (*réservés*), which were not generally registered or circulated. With commendable candor the editors warn the reader that these missing categories doubtless contained some of the most important documents.

To a certain extent this loss is offset by the fact that the editors have gone out of their way to find and include important papers from the files of other ministries, particularly war, navy, and finance, that bore directly on foreign policy. It is worth noting that this expanded concept of "diplomatic" history has also been applied in *Foreign Relations of the United States,* beginning with the period of American involvement in World War II. In the present volume the inclusion of these documents of military origin is especially significant because the *pièce de résistance* is the German reoccupation of the Rhineland on March 7, 1936. The revelation in these documents is that the French military leaders, informed of what was brewing across the Rhine a good two months in advance, recommended against any unilateral military steps beyond strengthening the Maginot Line, unless Britain was committed to more vigorous action. Small consideration was given to the effects of this German action and French inaction on France's small allies to the east or to any possible help from the Soviet Union, despite the Franco-Soviet pact. The conclusion is inescapable: the French alliance system was not killed by the Rhineland reoccupation; it had already died from the side effects of Locarno. Hitler made game on Stresemann's finesse.

Department of State WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

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PHILIP II OF SPAIN. By *Sir Charles Petrie.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1963. Pp. 318. $5.50.)

Sir Charles Petrie states in his preface that "to write the life of Philip of Spain in six volumes would be comparatively easy," while his single volume "necessitates the omission of much that is of both interest and importance." If these pages are a sampling of a larger opus, it is doubtful whether the biographical study of Spain's most famous king would have been advanced very far. It would not have altered the value of Petrie's book if it were admitted from the outset that this is not a biography but a well-written anecdotal essay surveying the basic history of the sixteenth century while placing Philip II correctly in the forefront either as a participant or a spectator. The alert undergraduate who has found W. T. Walsh partisan, M. A. Hume superficial, or W. Prescott out of date, and who wishes to supplement the still indispensable fourth volume of R. Merriman will find here a bland, dispassionate outlook that lingers over many human and intelligent features in the King's conduct of affairs.

After devoting nearly a third of his pages to the events of the reign of Charles V to explain the origin of the political problems that Philip inherited, the author presents a chronicle of the vexations, both personal and political, that dominated his reign. There are, for instance, the Ottoman world and its link with the unrest of the Moriscos in the Iberian Peninsula, and the rebellion in the Low Countries, which is called the *damnosa hereditas* since it involved the King in frustrating and ruinous conflicts with the western monarchies. The court intrigues surrounding Don Carlos and, later, Antonio Pérez, the Lepanto victory and the Armada defeat (with some new details about the fate of the Spanish fleet on the shores of Ireland), and finally the succession crisis in France dominate the rest of his essay.

Some of Petrie's statements will not bear close analysis since his treatment does not always offer the nuances that recent studies relevant to his work could add. Harbison and Van Durme, for example, could illuminate the issues in the fateful marriage alliance of Philip and Mary Tudor; Chudoba's analysis of the relationship of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs would help explain Philip's relations with the papacy; Koenigsberger's study of Philip's policy in Sicily would have helped to illustrate his performance as an administrator; Marañón could have been profitably consulted on Antonio Pérez; while Geyl's contribution to understanding the outcome of the Dutch rebellion is not included. There is no particular attention to Philip's fiscal policies, and surely J. Lecler could have offered much on Philip's attitude toward religious coercion.

It is unfortunate that there is not a bibliographical guide at the conclusion, for the uninformed reader is given no chance to lose interest in this impartial survey and would easily be led to wish for further readings. Perhaps the most interesting facet of Petrie's study may be its place within British historiography concerning Philip II. Unlike biographical essays available from German, Danish,

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French, Spanish, and American scholars, time has still not mellowed the great King's image to such recent authors as Sir Charles Oman or Cecil Cadoux. This book, and more substantial contributions from younger scholars such as J. Elliott and J. Lynch to accompany it, implies that there may be a "de-Stalinization" going on in British studies as a fresh appraisal of a traditional foe keeps making progress.

Fordham University ALBERT J. LOOMIE, S. J.

KYMMENYSVEROTUS SUOMESSA ENNEN KIRKKOREDUKTIOTA. By *Kauko Pirinen*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 55.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1962. Pp. 254.)

SUOMEN YLEIS- JA PAIKALLISHALLINNON TOIMET JA NIIDEN HOITO 1500-LUVUN JÄLKIPUOLISKOLLA (VV. 1560–1600): HALLINTO- JA YHTEISKUNTAHISTORIALLINEN TUTKIMUS. By *Kyösti Kiuasmaa*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 63.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1962. Pp. 622.)

PROFESSOR Kauko Pirinen's interesting study deals with tithes and related ecclesiastical taxes and sources of income in Finland during the Catholic age. After surveying the origins and development of tithes on the Continent and in Scandinavia, Pirinen proceeds to a detailed examination of the practice in Finland. First introduced in the late 1200's or early 1300's, tithing underwent different patterns of development in southern and western Finland as contrasted to the interior and Karelia. The Finnish clergy, the author points out in an interesting chapter, very early made effective use of Biblical and other arguments to inculcate tithes-paying habits. The Finns, some observers noted, were indeed faithful in meeting their obligations to priest and church. Tithes were generally distributed between the local parishes ($\frac{3}{8}$), the Cathedral church at Turku ($\frac{3}{8}$), and the canons ($\frac{2}{8}$). "Into the storehouses of the Bishop [of Turku]," writes the author, "came the best products from the provinces: grain from southern Finland, butter from the coastal regions, salmon and pike from the north, furs from the interior and Karelia." On the eve of the Reformation new winds began to blow, and an alarming number of Finns became negligent; in 1528, for example, the King was compelled to send a curt reminder from Stockholm about the matter. The volume's usefulness is enhanced by a well-selected bibliography and an adequate German-language abstract.

Kyösti Kiuasmaa's dissertation focuses on the offices and officeholders in local and general civilian administration during the years 1560–1600. The number of local posts was about nine hundred, not including the bailiffs and higher officials, who are not included in the study. Sixty per cent were clerks and clerical assistants, whose major responsibility was to keep tax and payroll records. The number of posts in general administration was about five hundred; these included functionaries in the customs, docks, and shipyards, royal liveries, salt-

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peter and gunpowder mills, and hospitals. Their appointment and functions, social origins, remuneration, mobility, and length of service—these are typical of the areas that Kiuasmaa explores. Controls from Stockholm, too, were important. To illustrate, in 1583 a clerk in Finland was notified that "hereafter under no circumstances will the purchase of expensive fresh fish be allowed"; he was instructed to make arrangements to net fish from local waters. As Kiuasmaa's study indicates, the clerks (as well as the bailiffs) often found themselves in a difficult situation, pressed from one side by an ever-diligent and inflexible crown, and on the other by reluctant taxpayers, who complained that "after a few years of service [averaging less than four years] they buy land and stone houses." Even the King, at least on one occasion, agreed openly that the clerks "were impoverishing the peasants by their numerous tax-collecting expeditions." A prodigious amount of research has gone into this study, much of it in archival materials in Finland and Sweden. In addition to a detailed bibliography and a summary in German, there are several useful appendixes, including a biographical register of 1,161 local officeholders.

Heidelberg College JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

SCHLESWIG–HOLSTEIN, 1815–48: A STUDY IN NATIONAL CONFLICT. By *W. Carr*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 341. 42*s*.)

As Carlton J. H. Hayes was among the first to point out to American readers, nationalism is not a monolithic phenomenon. The various nationalisms have had common features, but any definition or theory of nationalism must take account of individual differences. In other words, different people and different groups became nationalists for different reasons, had different aims, and even different degrees of nationalistic emotion. This is well illustrated by the history of Schleswig-Holstein in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Those who have followed the publications on this subject of the last generation of German and Danish historians will find much of Carr's book familiar. He has made effective use of these studies and has examined for himself the rich collections in the archives at Schleswig and at Kiel. His description of the rise of nationalism in the borderland of Germans and Danes does, however, fill a gap in the literature in the English language. It deals with an area and a population that are small enough to be studied in detail but whose importance in the history of the nineteenth century is greater than their size. The impact of the conflict in Schleswig-Holstein on German nationalism and its role in the making of the German Empire are well known.

The opening chapter gives an elementary survey of the rise of German nationalism and is intended for the "general reader"; the rest of the book is more substantial. The national movements in the duchies grew from the legal and constitutional controversies that marked the period of reaction after the Napole-

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onic Wars. For a time it seemed possible that the constitutional demands of the duchies could be satisfied within the framework of the Danish monarchy. In the early thirties, however, the differences between Germans and Danes came to the surface in the newly established assemblies of deliberative estates; Carr presents the phases and complexities with understanding and precision. By the forties the split was acute, and in the revolutions of 1848 it became incurable. The conflict made it clear that liberals could be illiberal when dealing with a linguistic minority. The final chapter is a brief summary of the Schleswig-Holstein question from the revolt of the duchies in 1848 to their annexation by Prussia in 1867.

University of Minnesota LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

LEOPOLD GRAF BERCHTOLD: GRANDSEIGNEUR UND STAATSMANN. In two volumes. By *Hugo Hantsch*. (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1963. Pp. xiv, 417; 419–896. Sch. 358 the set.)

THE person most immediately responsible for the First World War was unquestionably Leopold Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who dispatched the ultimatum of July 23, 1914, to Serbia and signed the declaration of war on July 28. Yet of all the persons in authority in July 1914 he alone published no memoirs or allowed himself to be the subject of a biography. Now, more than twenty years after his death (1942), the gap has been filled by a professor of history in the University of Vienna, who has had access to Berchtold's private papers, including his diary kept for many years and multivolumed memoirs composed after 1919, but never published; in addition, Professor Hantsch has used the archives of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office in Vienna. What we have therefore is probably the last word on Berchtold.

Berchtold had had a successful diplomatic career in Paris, London, and St. Petersburg (at the last-named, he was a notable ambassador from 1907 to 1911), but his heart was never in diplomacy. As a "Grandseigneur" his real interests were society, the arts, literature, and horse racing, all of which he could pursue vigorously because of his enormous wealth. Thus it was with genuine reluctance that he accepted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1912. Hantsch has no difficulty in showing that Berchtold was neither a dilettante nor a lazybones (as often alleged), but that he worked hard at his job and in close association with the officials of the Ballhausplatz. On the other hand it is clear that he often found it difficult to make decisions, particularly during the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 when he refused to be pushed into war against Serbia in spite of pressure both military and diplomatic. Why then did he take the plunge in 1914? Simply because he thought no other course was open to Austria-Hungary if it were to survive as a Great Power. In passing it may be said that Hantsch does not add to our knowledge of the crisis of July 1914 and does not even discuss the murder at Sarajevo.

Although in his ambassadorial days Berchtold had once recommended a

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peaceful solution of the southern Slav problem and as Minister recognized that Hungary was largely responsible for that problem, it apparently never occurred to him to challenge the existing dualism (he was himself technically a Hungarian). His foreign policy was thoroughly dynastic and "absolut österreichisch"; he was the true servant of his master Francis Joseph. If neither Emperor nor Minister wished more than a localized war against Serbia, both were aware that they were gambling with the future of the monarchy, which they would never have risked without the assistance and pressure of Germany.

Hantsch writes as an "old Austrian"; nowhere does he suggest that the framework of the state should or could have been changed. Thus his book is a thorough and sincere defense of the policy of Count Berchtold; it is well written and conforms to the highest standards of historical research. But it will hardly change the view which for fifty years has prevailed outside Austria-Hungary and Germany that the policy of 1914 was a *Vabanquespiel.*

I spent a weekend with Berchtold in 1928 and found him as charming a gentleman as Hantsch portrays him.

University of Chicago BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

NATIONALER LIBERALISMUS IN DER KRISE: DIE NATIONAL-LIBERALE FRAKTION DES PREUSSISCHEN ABGEORDNETEN-HAUSES 1914–18. By *Hartwig Thieme.* [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Number 11.] (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1963. Pp. viii, 246. DM 18.)

BEFORE 1950 the number of scholarly books on German political parties could be counted on one hand. Very little work had been done on pressure groups, party organization, the nature of party leadership, or on the sociological bases of parties. In recent years, a spate of excellent studies have appeared that have illuminated the history of several German parties. Hartwig Thieme's study is typical of these works. It is based on the best sources available, featuring the *Nachlässe* of prominent Prussian National Liberals, and is equipped with useful statistical tables that show clearly the social and professional background of the deputies and their ties to the principal economic and nationalist pressure groups.

The nature of the Prussian National Liberal party was influenced by the electoral system of Prussia which loaded the *Landtag* with wealthy conservatives and by the fact that Prussia was the home of much of Germany's heavy industry, which contributed heavily to the party's treasury. The Prussian National Liberals tended to be more conservative than the *Reichstag Fraktion* and more clearly under the control of the moguls of heavy industry and the major economic associations. The dominant Right Wing of the Prussian party was the spokesman of heavy industry. The Left Wing was drawn largely from independent employers and the owners of small- and medium-sized farms. The extreme annexationist war goals were voiced by the Right Wing, but few National

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Liberals resisted the siren call of a victorious peace. The Right Wing stubbornly fought any reforms in the Prussian electoral system or in the Prussian and *Reich* constitutions. The Left Wing, whose identification with the prewar Young Liberal organization was close, supported equal electoral rights and true parliamentary government. Some of the Left Wing, such as Eugen Schiffer and Hartmann von Richthofen, also favored a moderate war goals policy. There were some leaders, such as Gustav Stresemann and Robert Friedberg, who supported both domestic reforms and a strong "nationalist" policy.

The prewar divisions within the Prussian National Liberal party were exacerbated by wartime developments, which provoked powerful movements for change. The struggle within the party on domestic issues left deep wounds, and these contributed to a reshuffling of Liberal politicians in 1918. Friedberg, Schiffer, and Von Richthofen were founders of the German Democratic party, and many in the Right Wing gravitated toward the German Nationalist party. The wartime divisions lived on, however, in the German People's party of Stresemann to harass him until his death.

Thieme's work reinforces much of the outline of the National Liberal party that has long been familiar, and it supplies new details of interest about the personalities and issues, the feuds and rifts of a party which in Bismarck's time had largely abandoned its liberal principles for nationalist passion. It is a solid contribution to the history of German political parties and to the domestic history of Germany during the First World War.

Munich, Germany BRUCE B. FRYE

STRESEMANN AND THE POLITICS OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC. By *Henry Ashby Turner, Jr.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. v, 287. $6.00.)

THE clouds that hid the real significance of Gustav Stresemann from American readers for so long are beginning to lift. Gordon A. Craig, in his slender volume *From Bismarck to Adenauer* (1958), first reappraised the foreign policy of the much-maligned German statesman with fairness. Now a student of Craig's, Professor Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., analyzes Stresemann's role in domestic politics. His book, originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation at Princeton University, is based on a thorough examination of the Stresemann papers and of many other pertinent documents that have become available in recent years, especially in the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz and in the Foreign Office in Bonn. The verdict he presents on the basis of such rich evidence will not please the incurable Stresemann haters. It brings genuine satisfaction to me, however, for many of Turner's judgments run parallel with observations I have frequently presented since 1945, most recently in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher,* Volume VII (1963). Turner's thinking is also in line with that of most German postwar historians.

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It is regrettable that he starts somewhat abruptly, though dramatically, on the fateful November 9, 1918, and provides only scant background information about the history of the National Liberal party. For Stresemann must be seen as the intellectual heir of Bennigsen and those other high-minded National Liberals who helped Bismarck in founding the German Empire. Hans von Raumer, who told Turner that the *Deutsche Volkspartei* was without a *Leitidee,* speaks only for himself and other cynical representatives of big business in the party, but does injustice to Stresemann and his close collaborators, men of such stalwart character as Wilhelm Kahl and Julius Curtius. Unfortunately, they do not come to life in the book, which also lacks otherwise well-rounded portraits, for example, of the men whom Stresemann included in his cabinet in 1923. Turner complains that "with regard to the composition of the party rank and file, information is scarce." Actually, we who lived through the twenties know that Stresemann's supporters included primarily members of the higher civil service, university professors, judges, lawyers, schoolteachers, doctors, engineers, Protestant ministers, white-collar workers, the more moderate elements among industrialists, exporters, and bankers, and a few farmers. The social composition was similar to that of the National Liberal party. All these elements were held together by the inspiring leadership of Stresemann. The impact of his leadership will escape those who judge a man only from cold documents and are unaware of his charisma. Who could blame Stresemann for jealously guarding his position in his party against those false friends, men like Heinze, Vögler, and Scholz, who only aimed to betray him and to undermine his policy of moderation? Toward the end of his life he grew tired of their intrigues. He longed for a great liberal party in which most of the *Deutsche Volkspartei* (minus the Right-wing clique), the Democrats, and some moderate Nationalists might find a new home. But it was too late; death was to overtake him soon. Turner, who is admirably fair when dealing with Stresemann's progress from opponent to defender of the Weimar Republic, is much more critical of his increasing aloofness from the affairs of his party in his last years. He thinks that "it was his great failing, since it robbed Germany of the full benefits of his acceptance of, and reconciliation to, the Weimar Republic." Whether or not one agrees with this conclusion, he must concede that Turner deserves to be complimented on the first fully satisfactory American monograph based on the Stresemann papers.

Trenton State College FELIX E. HIRSCH

AUSTRIA, GERMANY, AND THE ANSCHLUSS, 1931–1938. By *Jürgen Gehl.* Foreword by *Alan Bullock.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 212. $4.80.)

THE story of the *Anschluss* has been told several times. The best-known German account is by Ulrich Eichstädt, *Von Dollfuss zu Hitler* (1955); in English, it is

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the recent study by Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *Anschluss: The Rape of Austria* (1963). Considering Eichstädt's detailed and well-documented work and Brook-Shepherd's readable study, it is difficult to see at first glance what more could be said about this event. But Dr. Gehl's treatment is different from those of his predecessors. Eichstädt concentrated on Austro-German relations and National Socialist tactics in Austria primarily from 1934 to 1938. Brook-Shepherd's account focused on Schuschnigg. Gehl emphasizes the international aspects.

He describes the relationship of the powers regarding the Austrian problem beginning with the Austro-German Customs Union project of 1931, continuing with the July *Putsch* of 1934, the Abyssinian conflict, and the Spanish Civil War, and concluding his account with the take-over by Germany in 1938. Gehl bases his account on the published and unpublished German documents and the published Austrian and British documents, the latter of which had not been available to Eichstädt. More than his predecessors, Gehl stresses the influence of the Austrian problem on German-Italian relations and Austria's diplomatic isolation after January 1936. With A. J. P. Taylor, he believes that the importance of the Hossbach memorandum has been overstressed and that "Hitler [on this occasion] wanted to convince his generals that the armament programme had to be expanded and he therefore exaggerated the possibilities of an armed conflict." On Austrian internal developments, such as the pre-Berchtesgaden conversation between Zernatto and Seyss-Inquart, Gehl follows Eichstädt closely, though his treatment is less detailed. He fails to point out that Rost van Tonningen, the financial adviser of the League of Nations in Vienna, was well known as a Nazi sympathizer, and he considers the *Anschluss* the first instance in which Hitler used the threat of force to speed up evolutionary developments, overlooking the occupation of the Rhineland.

The value of Gehl's study is, unfortunately, impaired by innumerable mistakes that go beyond occasional typographical errors. There are errors of dates, page and document numbers, and misspelled names. In some instances the documents cited are ascribed to the wrong persons, and in others better sources were available than those referred to by the author. It is to be regretted that neither the publisher nor the author took enough care to correct these details of what otherwise is an interesting and worth-while contribution.

Department of State GEORGE O. KENT

MUNICH. By *Keith Eubank*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 322. $5.00.)

THOSE who do not wish to read the relevant volumes of the *Survey of International Affairs* and who cannot read Boris Celovsky's *Das Münchener Abkommen 1938* can now turn to a single-volume study of Munich in English, which takes into account the major publications of documents and memoirs. In a relatively brief, well-written, and provocative book, Keith Eubank surveys

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the international developments leading to the Munich agreement and continues thereafter to interpret subsequent events as affected by real or imagined lessons from the crisis.

The author presents clear pictures of the policies of the major interested powers. The dilemma of France between support of an ally it could not save and a loss of status it could not face and the fear of England lest it be dragged into a war in which a doubtful victory would lead only to acceptance of what appeared to be the enemy's main demand are shown leading the two powers to Munich. Hitler's desire to destroy Czechoslovakia is matched by the fear of the Sudeten German leaders lest their demands be granted before they could raise them again. Eubank's picture of Beneš is refreshingly fair; the Czech leader is shown as a determined adherent of the West, not the East as some apologists for National Socialist foreign policy have tried to portray him. The roles played by Horace Wilson, Walter Runciman, Georges Bonnet, and Éduard Daladier are described exceedingly well. The picture of Soviet policy is not quite convincing. Russia may well have doubted the willingness of France to fight, but the author's certainty of Soviet certainty in this regard rests on assertions more than evidence.

Neville Chamberlain emerges as a man of much clearer purpose and will than is often assumed. To avoid war, he would go to great, in fact to almost any length, on an assumption that proved erroneous: that others, including Hitler, shared his aversion to war. This points to the one major weakness in the book: Eubank's explanation of Hitler's acceptance of a peaceful settlement. The statement that this was owing not to worry about British and French intervention, German public reluctance, Italian reticence, and so forth, but solely because "there was no cause for war" contradicts Eubank's earlier realization that Hitler wanted to take Czechoslovakia, not the Sudetenland. It was precisely because he came to feel—erroneously, I believe—that he could have taken everything already in 1938 without a world war that Hitler was afterward so angry about Munich. He felt that Chamberlain had bluffed him. When Hitler told his generals in August 1939 that the only thing he feared was that at the last minute some *Schweinehund* would offer a mediation proposal, whom could this refer to but the man who had cheated him of his nice little war in 1938?

Neither this, nor the minor technical points that could be raised, seriously detracts from the solid merits of the book. It is indeed fortunate that the twenty-fifth anniversary of Munich should be commemorated with a lucid, succinct, and balanced sketch of those desperate days. "It was the story of free men who were unprepared to wage war against the tyrant."

University of Michigan GERHARD L. WEINBERG

THE LIFE OF NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI. By *Roberto Ridolfi*. Translated from the Italian by *Cecil Grayson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. x, 337. $6.00.)

SINCE its Italian publication nine years ago, this biography has held a place of

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its own in the literature on Machiavelli. Instead of the cynicism and irreligiosity usually suspected of the author of *The Prince,* it describes a human being in the circle of his family and friends, endowed with generosity, dedication, and even firm religious beliefs. Although the reader may sometimes feel that this cannot be the full picture, the mere existence of such a book, well documented as it is, has infused a humanizing note into recent Machiavelli debates.

Now, thanks to Professor Cecil Grayson of Oxford, Ridolfi's biography has had the good fortune of a translation into English in which it nearly reads like the impressive piece of writing it is in the Italian original. The publisher, too, deserves thanks for adding reproductions of Machiavelli's early portraits and busts, which had been discussed in the original edition, but had not been shown in illustrations. On the other hand, the English version has no equivalent for the detailed and indispensable index of "cose più notevoli" that makes the Italian edition an easy guide to the wealth of new biographical facts and corrected dates of Machiavelli's works owed to Ridolfi's researches.

An even greater disappointment is the total lack of adaptation to the advance of scholarship since 1954. The author says that this new edition has "inspired me with the wish to correct my book and bring it up to date in various respects," but the intention has not been carried out. A few new publications are cited in the notes, but merely for brief expressions of admiration if they agree with positions taken in the book, of contempt if they do not. There is not a single line disclosing a divergent argument, nor any modification or "correction" of the author's views. For instance, N. Rubinstein's study of "The Beginnings of Machiavelli's Career in the Florentine Chancery" (1956) is listed as "important," but only for reference to a few documents that seem to be in harmony with Ridolfi's narrative; no mention is made of the demonstration from archival sources that Machiavelli's election to second chancellor and secretary in 1498 took place "on a day marked by a climax of anti-Savonarolian reaction"—a fact crying for notice and evaluation in a book that places Machiavelli as near to Savonarola as possible.

Equally to the point would have been a review of Ridolfi's discussions of the secretary's work for a militia among the population of the Florentine territory and of Machiavelli's later advocacy—in the *Art of War*—of what he believed had been the system of citizen soldiery in the Roman legions. The early program for a militia in the countryside is still confusingly identified with the "idea of a citizen army" and "national militia," so that the reader cannot recognize that this idea and Machiavelli's imitation of Roman citizen-soldiership did not develop as a leitmotiv until the time of the *Discourses* and the *Art of War.* Moreover, the author of the *Art of War* continues to be called "the first to lay the foundations of modern tactics"; yet various scholars (to whom Ridolfi bibliographically refers) have demonstrated that, while awareness of the interrelatedness of political, social, and military institutions makes Machiavelli a harbinger of modern thinking, he did not realize the growing role of artillery and a professionally trained soldiery

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and, consequently, was far from holding the historical place in the growth of modern tactics attributed to him by earlier scholars. Again, Chabod's and Sasso's recent studies of the gradual development of Machiavelli's thought during his secretarial years, though repeatedly praised by the author, are never used for the information that they have presented on the relations between Machiavelli's life and thought. The book falls shortest of the present state of scholarship where the discussion should turn to the recent debates on the dates and sequence of *The Prince* and the *Discourses*. All that the reader learns is that there have been, about the genesis of these works, some "hardly necessary conjectures" that are unproven and unworthy of attention. He is nowhere informed about the nature of the new arguments, which, if correct, would vitally change the biographical pattern presented by Ridolfi. Thus, summing up, in its new dress this book has remained a work of 1954, not 1963, despite the claims of its preface.

Newberry Library HANS BARON

LA SICILIA E L'UNITÀ D'ITALIA: ATTI DEL CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI STORICI SUL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (PALERMO 15–20 APRILE 1961). Volume I, RELAZIONI; Volume II, COMUNICAZIONI. Edited by *Salvatore Massimo Ganci* and *Rosa Guccione Scaglione*. [Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Studi e ricerche storiche, Numbers 16 and 16 bis.] (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1962. Pp. 346; 349–1040. L. 12,000 the set.)

THE vicissitudes of the Garibaldian epos in Sicily in 1860 have constituted an especially active sector of the historiographical battlefield upon which the conflict of interpretations of the *Risorgimento* has raged. Conservative and liberal historians, democratic and Marxist ideologues have successively turned the liberation and annexation of Sicily into a sort of obsessive counterpoint to the dominant national theme of the Italian unification movement. At the Palermo historical congress held in the spring of 1961 the "commemorative" aspects of the *Risorgimento* centenary had almost completely disappeared. In the two-volume, one-thousand-page collection of the proceedings of that congress there are very scarce suggestions of nostalgic evocations and patriotic celebrations. And the heroes—Garibaldi, Cavour, Mazzini—have more or less vanished from historical sight as the principal participants at the congress explicate their stern reconstructions of a time of crisis and decision. Thus large themes and bold ideas, polemical emphases and controversial points of view, ideological undercurrents and stubborn historical convictions emerge with unequivocal force throughout the proceedings. The present work may eventually prove to have been less significant for its "pure" historiographical contribution than as a "barometric" document of an emergent disposition within the Italian historical intelligentsia to experiment with the ideological *démarche* that characterized Italian politics in 1961–1962.

Paolo Alatri, a serious scholar but a very committed Marxist revisionist, spoke first at the Palermo congress and tested the ground, so to speak, for the

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extremist point of view by reiterating the Neo-Gramscian interpretation of Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily in 1860. Alatri was not spared rather violent, at least pointed, disagreement. The three truly brilliant papers read at the congress—Rosario Villari's "Sicilian Autonomy and the Southern Question," S. M. Ganci's "Sicilian *Autonomismo* in the Unitary State," and S. F. Romano's felicitous synthesis on "The Sicilian Contribution to the Creation of the Modern State in Italy"—are, each in its fashion, elaborations upon the thesis that there had been before, during, and immediately after 1860 a fertile alternative to the solution that the chief artificers of the *Risorgimento* had given to the historic "Sicilian Question." Villari, Ganci, and Romano differently stress that the seeds of "autonomism" need not have been crushed, as indeed they were, under the juggernaut of plebiscitary politics and successive states of siege. Those seeds should rather have been nurtured toward a policy of conciliation between the ancient "liberties" of Sicily and the new liberalism in whose name the Italian state was being created. Interestingly, two older historians come from other directions to reinforce the thematic emphases of the "autonomist" interpreters. Roberto Cessi, in an elaborately documented paper, almost too strenuously argues that all the Great Powers of 1860 in Europe, East and West, were so paralyzed by mutual fears, distrust, and ambitions that they let Italy be "made" in a common fit of international absent-mindedness. In a more concise paper, Franco Valsecchi enlarges upon the theme that "Villafranca had marked, so far as the unification of Italy was concerned, the end of diplomacy." Thus the "diplomatists" at the Palermo congress independently tend to corroborate on the European level the claims made by the "autonomists" that the Cavourian ruling class of 1860–1861 had been almost completely "free" of any compulsion, internal or external, in adopting the centralizing solution of the Italian "Southern Question." In Sicily, early disenchantment with that solution slowly gave way to active resistance against institutional nationalism and then to that long, erosive state of civil war running from the Palermo revolt of 1866 to the *Fasci Siciliani* of 1893–1894.

One need not agree with the most speculative and polemical contributions in this enlightening collection of essays on Sicily and the unity of Italy in order to appreciate the historical curiosity and intellectual excitement generated by unorthodox views. Ideal as an "autonomist" solution to the "Sicilian Question" may now appear, it is still a matter of legitimate historical doubt whether 1860–1861 was either too late or too early for a federalistic solution to the larger Italian national problem.

University of Rochester A. William Salomone

NAPOLI TRA DOPOGUERRA E FASCISMO. By *Raffaele Colapietra*. [Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Studi e ricerche storiche, Number 14.] (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1962. Pp. 323. L. 3,000.)

This is the first work to emerge from postwar historiography on southern Fascism. Its main concern is the key period in Neapolitan politics from 1919 to

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1924, immediately distinguishing it from the previous provincial studies which close with the march on Rome in 1922, namely, those by C. Bettarini (Florence), C. Silvestri (Trieste), and M. Vaini (Mantua). It is the first study, therefore, that treats the local upheavals in Fascist ranks during 1923 and 1924. It is also a significant first step toward a new look at the development of national Fascism through a provincial base.

Colapietra's chief contribution is in demonstrating that while northern Fascism could draw upon a large urban and agrarian *piccola borghesia,* southern Fascism had little alternative to the traditional propertied groups. For only by coming to terms with these groups was Fascism able to insert itself within the Mezzogiorno. In 1923 Neapolitan Fascism and the liberal *classe dirigente* became one: Democrats, Nationalists, *Popolari,* agrarians, and industrialists were all absorbed within Fascist ranks. Southern Fascism thus emerged as the direct legatee of Giolittian *trasformismo.* In the face of the Fascist advance and the opportunism it unleashed everywhere in the South, the only constant factor was the total bankruptcy of southern liberalism.

This work continues the practice established by Italian historians of wholly ignoring the local and regional organization of Fascism. Apart from incomplete statistics on the syndicates, Colapietra gives no information on the internal political structure of the Neapolitan *Fascio* (composition of directorates, technical commissions, voting procedures, and so forth) nor on the evolution of its military arm, the squads.

These oversights are perhaps owing to the restrictive nature of the author's materials. The newspapers on which he relies so heavily are not the only source of information on this period. Monographs, especially the regional studies published in the thirties by the *Istituto Nazionale di Economia Agraria* and relevant Fascist writings, might have added another dimension to this work.

In using editorials from the city's major newspapers to follow political developments, Colapietra has taken a difficult and laborious course. The reader is submerged under a succession of subtle editorial shifts, all the more perplexing as the number of papers examined increases. Prolix, poorly organized, and at times unreadable, this work might have gained much had many details been summarized and close analysis been left to the events meriting it.

St. Antony's College, Oxford GUIDO F. DI MEO

YUGOSLAVIA AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE: A STUDY IN FRONTIERMAKING. By *Ivo J. Lederer.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 351. $8.00.)

THIS is the first systematic study of the Yugoslav question at the Paris Peace Conference in a Western language. In scholarly method, thoroughness, breadth of view, and variety of sources used it is the most important study of the subject in any language.

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The Yugoslav question and more especially one aspect of it, the "Adriatic question" (the Italo-Yugoslav conflict over the control of the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea), provoked some of the most heated controversies at the Peace Conference, as President Wilson refused to recognize the validity of the secret Treaty of London of April 1915 and Prime Minister Orlando not only insisted on the complete fulfillment of the treaty but on additional territorial gains at the expense of the Yugoslavs, notably Fiume. Lederer's study, however, does not center on the battles of the Big Four, but "seeks to analyze Yugoslav territorial issues at the end of World War I in a comprehensive frame focusing not only on the labors of the peace conference but also on national, especially Yugoslav, policies." The aim of the Yugoslav delegation at the conference was to secure complete national unification of the Yugoslav people in the new Yugoslav state and to secure for this state economically viable and strategically defensible frontiers. This was a formidable task, because "ringed by seven neighboring states—Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, and Italy—Yugoslavia faced territorial disputes with all save Greece." The Yugoslavs left the conference disappointed and frustrated in their ambitions. The conference was unable to resolve the Adriatic question and had to leave it to bilateral Italo-Yugoslav negotiations. Deprived of Wilson's support after the US Senate rejected the treaties and the United States practically withdrew from the conference, the Yugoslavs had to yield to Italy in the Treaty of Rapallo (November 12, 1920), but not completely—Dalmatia (except Zara) was saved. And compared with their other neighbors they were largely successful in realizing their territorial objectives.

Thanks to access to and extensive use of the minutes of the Yugoslav delegation in Paris and the papers of Foreign Minister Ante Trumbić, as well as published and unpublished American, Italian, and French documents, Lederer has been able to reconstruct the Yugoslav efforts in Paris in diminutive, day-by-day detail. Any further study of the subject can only elucidate minor points and fill in tiny gaps. Together with analogous monographs on Czechoslovakia and Rumania at the Paris Peace Conference by D. Perman and D. Spector, respectively, both published within the last year, and the older monograph of F. Deak on Hungary at the Paris Peace Conference, Lederer's study largely completes the story of peacemaking in the mid-Danube area after World War I.

Florida State University VICTOR S. MAMATEY

THE DESTRUCTION OF HUNGARIAN JEWRY: A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT. In two volumes. By *Randolph L. Braham*. (New York: Pro Arte for the World Federation of Hungarian Jews. 1963. Pp. cxxxvi, 416; 417–969. $15.00.)

THE HUNGARIAN JEWISH CATASTROPHE: A SELECTED AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Randolph L. Braham*. [Joint Documen-

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tary Projects, Bibliographical Series, Number 4.] (New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research; Jerusalem: Yad Washem Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial Authority. 1962. Pp. xxv, 86. $5.00.)

If there are scholars still about who think Adolf Eichmann was the chief architect of the final solution, or indeed, that the SS destroyed the Jews while the other branches of the German government stood idly by, these documents will disabuse them. Largely the records of Martin Luther's *Abteilung Deutschland* in the German Foreign Office, subsequently renamed *Inland,* these photocopies are damning evidence of wide participation by German bureaucrats in the eradication of Jewry. As is now widely known, and recently underlined by Raoul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961) and Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963), Germany's allies, neutral states, Germany's enemies, and Jews themselves aided and abetted the killers in a tragic mixture of self-serving materialism and ill-conceived Machiavellianism that sought to save a few by destroying many. It is all here, accompanied by the most amazing *sang-froid* not merely of Eichmann, but of Ernst Weizsäcker, Ernst Woermann, Paul Schmidt, and many others. In a way these bureaucratic interoffice memoranda with their rubber stamps and marginal notes are more horrible than the photographs of corpses in more emotionally conceived publications. For in these inhuman documents is ample evidence that if a bureaucrat sat high enough up (but not as high as Ribbentrop or Himmler), he need not ever suffer as he made men, women, and children suffer. The biographical index lists more than a dozen men now living in West Germany who are deeply implicated by these records.

The collection of documents falls into two unequal parts: documents originating before the German occupation of Hungary (March 19, 1944) and the records of the occupation period, which have already begun on page 299 of Volume I. The smaller collection illustrates the partially unsuccessful efforts of the German Foreign Office to subject the Jewish citizens of their Hungarian ally to the same indignities and "special treatment" as German, Polish, or stateless Jews. Most of the publication, however, is devoted to a detailed documentation of the most systematic case of genocide ever known. At a point when Germany at best could hope for a stalemate, and later when defeat was clearly upon them, a group of fanatics, among them Eduard Veesenmayer of the Foreign Office, undertook to liquidate the Hungarian Jews, whose long-term survival when most of their brethren had disappeared was an insult and a confession of weakness. Yet even in this context of *Götterdämmerung,* the bureaucratic style speaks of so-and-so many "pieces" (*Stück*) shoved across the Swiss border as a token of readiness to trade people for trucks. The way in which Himmler traded a few Jewish lives to obtain the Manfred Weiss concern to supply the *Waffen* SS with weapons reveals still another blend of Machiavellianism, venality, and fanaticism. The latter is one of several episodes that are illuminated for the

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first time by the juxtaposition of documents from scattered origins, some not otherwise available. Most of the documents, however, can be found on National Archives Microcopy T-120, Rolls 4355, 4664, and 4665. Dr. Braham has provided an excellent provenance table for the Foreign Office records, as well as an analytical list of documents, which unfortunately does not supply the provenance directly, forcing the reader to turn to each document to identify it by Nuremberg number or other referent. The photographic reproductions are generally good.

As a companion piece to Braham's *Documentary Account,* his multilingual bibliography should make it possible for scholars to pursue numerous leads suggested by the documents. Naturally, a large number of the references are in Hungarian and Hebrew. A complete translation of all titles and sentence length annotations enhances the usefulness of this bibliography, which includes recent novels from Hungary and the Eichmann trial records.

University of Nebraska ROBERT KOEHL

GREECE AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1944–1947: PRELUDE TO THE "TRUMAN DOCTRINE." By *Stephen G. Xydis.* [Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν: Ἵδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, Number 60.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1963. Pp. xxi, 758.)

AN enormous amount of ink and vitriol has been expended in recent years on the multitudinous problems related to the expansion of Soviet power in the Balkans. The arresting of Russian imperialism on the borders of Greece by American opposition expressed through the "Truman Doctrine" has stirred up separate controversies vented in a plethora of specialized publications. The judiciously compiled bibliography of Professor Xydis' volume contains nearly three hundred entries devoted to these inflammatory subjects.

Motivated less by the spirit of massive retaliation than by determination to set the record straight, Xydis has himself contributed another 780 pages to the Greek question during the crucial period 1944–1947. In this instance the length of the volume is entirely justifiable: the facts speak for themselves. Most of the study is devoted to a detailed narration of the several phases of the Greek crisis starting with the Stalin-Churchill agreement of October 1944 and concluding with the formulation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947. Against the background of the struggle for domination of Greece involving first Russia and Great Britain and subsequently Russia and the United States, Xydis carefully delineates the Russian tactics vis-à-vis its wartime allies and the concurrent utilization of the Greek Communist party and the Albanian, Bulgarian, and Yugoslav Communist regimes as instruments for the attainment of the ultimate Soviet goal: the establishment of a Greek people's republic.

The author concentrates on the policies of the Great Powers, convinced that the fate of Greece was ultimately decided by the United States, Great Britain,

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and the Soviet Union in terms of broader interests than the Greek question per se. He does not, however, ignore the significance of the Greek civil war and the traditional antagonism between Greece and its Balkan neighbors—in which nationalism was and remains the crucial factor—in aggravating the conflict between Russia and the Western Allies and influencing their decisions. In fact, the only criticisms that may be levied at an otherwise excellent study are the minimizing of the role of the Greek civil war as a determining factor in the formulation of Russian and American policies toward Greece, and the overstatement of the righteousness of the aims and policies of the legitimate Greek governments. The author has thereby stirred up anew the hornet's nest of controversy residual in the internal political problems of postwar Greece and, with the thoroughness of his documentation, supplied fresh ammunition to the polemicists. The serious student of Greek problems, however, is indebted to Xydis for an outstanding contribution to recent diplomatic history.

Indiana University STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

PLEKHANOV: THE FATHER OF RUSSIAN MARXISM. By *Samuel H. Baron*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 400. $8.50.)

IN a book that adds impressively to the evidence of the increasing maturity and sophistication of American scholarship on Russian history, Professor Baron has fulfilled his intention to write "primarily an intellectual biography" of Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856–1918), considering also "forces and experiences that shaped his moral and intellectual development." Using manuscript material found in Western Europe and printed books and periodicals, the author has constructed a full and readable account of Plekhanov's early Populist period, his conversion to Marxism, his long career in exile as senior prophet of Russian Social Democracy, and the brief tragedy of his home-coming.

Baron writes that "the greater part" of the book consists of "the history of an idea . . . the two-stage revolutionary scheme" of Plekhanov's for Russia. He exaggerates somewhat, fortunately, for this scheme is familiar from a number of previous studies. The author challenges several other authorities (including Leopold Haimson, Gustav Wetter, Leonard Schapiro, and Alfred G. Meyer), but chiefly on minor points. For example, Haimson describes Plekhanov's decision to withdraw from military school and avoid military service as "his first gesture as a 'repentant nobleman' "; Baron denies this, but since he himself puts the question troubling Plekhanov as, could he "forget his responsibilities to the people and serve the Tsar?" his reason for questioning Haimson's statement is far from clear. The significance of Baron's contribution lies not in disproving such casual remarks of his colleagues, but in the exhaustiveness and fairness with which he has explored his whole subject. Unfortunately, the dimension in which he is best prepared to extend previous scholarship, concerning Plekhanov's views (building on the analysis of Marx and Engels) of the "Asiatic" character of

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Russia's past, seems to be truncated in the book. For the first two hundred pages the author writes as if Plekhanov thought of old Russia as being only "traditional," "backward," retaining "survivals of feudalism," and generally close to the West—except for two isolated references to the Incas of Peru and one to Plekhanov's fear of *kitaishchina* (the word is left untranslated, but means something like "Chinafication"), which may merely baffle the reader not initiated into the Marxian category of the Asiatic mode of production. Only on page 300 does he really explain these references, and it never becomes clear that Plekhanov considered the "Europeanization" (Baron cites this term several times without explaining what Plekhanov thought Russia was if it needed to become "Europeanized") of Russia a slow and hazardous process, that he estimated the strength of the tsarist state to be tremendous, and that he feared premature nationalization before this state was crushed, all because of what he regarded as Russia's "Oriental" foundations.

There are minor errors. For example, Martov's first name was Iulii (Julius) not Iurii (George); Lenin's organization was called "Union [*Soiuz*] of Struggle for Emancipation of the Working Class [*Rabochego Klassa*]," not "League [*Liga*] . . . Labor [*Truda*]," which means that the names of Lenin's and Plekhanov's groups were not quite the same; first Baron writes that Plekhanov saw "no resemblance" between the revisionist-orthodox and the Bolshevik-Menshevik debates, then that he saw the latter split as "no less substantial" than the former. Slips are, however, far overshadowed by passages of good writing—the accounts of Plekhanov's return to Russia and of his death are moving—and of fine analysis—the attempt to show how Plekhanov changed from an internationalist into a Russian patriot in 1914 is plausible, and if no very rational explanation is given, that may well be because there is none.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

SOVIET COMMUNES. By *Robert G. Wesson*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. 275. $7.50.)

THE author devotes approximately the first quarter of *Soviet Communes* to showing that the idea of communes is wholly independent of Bolshevism, a point that seems incontestable. The background, however, is useful in establishing that successful communal societies in the past enjoying any great longevity have been strongly dependent upon religious inspiration. In communes, as distinct from cooperatives, sectarianism provided the most common and most effective stabilizing element, and the author makes frequent allusion to the Hutterites and to the Israeli *kibbutzim*.

The Soviet government showed a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward communes between 1918 and 1930, then submerged all types of commune and cooperative in the universal artel model. The author relates the history of Soviet communes in detail, covering the regulatory statutes, actual organizations, num-

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ber of communes, number of members, state aid, effectiveness in production, and the persistent egalitarianism among commune members. Total commune membership was never more than a very small fraction of the population. Small communes, despite occasional exceptions, were apparently most successful. There is an interesting description of peasant reaction to the labor day system and the differential pay scales that the system entailed; many commune peasants did not understand, nor like, nor see the need for paying one more than another.

The author suggests that perhaps the most important influence of Soviet communes was not on the peasants but on the higher Soviet officials, persuading them to try the mass collectivization policy. It would be interesting to see this point elaborated if further evidence is available. The author's own analysis of what makes successful communes would dictate unavoidable failure of a mass collectivization experiment. Furthermore, the commune was always a liability from the standpoint of the state because the commune was basically a consumption society and not geared to substantial surplus production for marketing or for requisitioning.

The sources for study of Soviet communes are scattered and fragmentary. The author has collected the bits and pieces into a successful comprehensive description of the Soviet communes as an institution in the 1920's. If relatively few individual communes, such as the model Communist Lighthouse, must be used repeatedly as examples, the explanation is undoubtedly lack of other surviving evidence, and the history of the Soviet communes should not need doing again.

Oregon State University GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

Asia and the East

PEACE-MAKING AND THE SETTLEMENT WITH JAPAN. By *Frederick S. Dunn et al.* [The Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 210. $5.00.)

ONE of the impressive things about the late Professor Dunn's book is its air of being a product of careful thought and prolonged reflection on experience. It profits from his long experience as a legal officer in the Department of State and from his emphasis, during an influential academic career, on the analysis of international politics through a study of how and by whom decisions are made. Persuaded that "peace-making, like war-making, is a series of decisions made by identifiable human beings acting in various capacities," he surveys the evolution of the 1951 treaty of peace with Japan by considering the views of the designated policy makers at each stage: the information available to them, the competing courses considered, and the international framework within which they labored. For historians, this approach to the study of the decision-making process as "the

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business of encountering, grappling with, and resolving or evading a series of more or less difficult dilemmas" is eminently satisfying.

The book dramatically high-lights the way in which new problems replaced old dilemmas as a result of the extraordinary changes in international political conditions between the time of Japan's surrender in 1945 and the San Francisco Conference in September 1951, where forty-eight nations signed the peace treaty with Japan. The wartime planning for a defeated Japan and the early postwar objective of reforming Japan and removing it as a threat to peace were radically altered by the realization that wartime collaboration between the Allied Powers would not be followed by postwar cooperation. Policy makers were forced to subordinate plans to reform and reorganize Japan to the aim of furthering the security of the United States and the free world in the face of the Soviet menace. This meant that peacemaking plans were reoriented to restore and revive Japan and keep it aligned with the West in a cold war. The author sees the National Security Council's decision of November 1948 as the turning point in the treatment of Japan as a potential ally rather than a defeated nation.

Dunn examines, lucidly and persuasively, the course of action considered by the policy makers within this rapidly changing international framework. The first four chapters examine the earliest plans for the treatment of Japan, including the wartime thinking on how to reform the nation, and the changes in these plans required by the cold war. The heart of the analysis (four of the book's nine chapters) concentrates on the events of 1950 and 1951 during which, as foreign policy adviser, John Foster Dulles conducted intensive negotiations with our cold war Allies to reach an accord on a peace settlement. The author admires Dulles' success in peacemaking through diplomatic channels and his ability to compose the varying approaches to Japan taken both by different departments in the American government and by the other nations that had been at war with Japan. However, since the decision to strengthen Japan and restore its sovereignty with minimum restrictions in order to align it with the United States in world affairs had been fully worked out by 1949, he contends that Dulles should not be called the architect of the treaty, but rather be credited with mediating and negotiating successfully an earlier blueprint.

The importance of this book is not in the new interpretations it offers nor the new data it provides, although important details from unpublished State Department papers are supplied to fill in the general picture. The study does not rely on the available analyses of the events and actions in other nations, most notably Japan, that influenced the peace negotiations. Its primary value is in the elucidation of the complex factors that influenced the decisions of American policy makers and the insights it offers into the complicated process of international negotiations. Dunn has produced as clear a picture as we are likely to get of the series of American decisions, how they were made and by whom, that culminated in the peace settlement with Japan.

University of Michigan ROGER F. HACKETT

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SOUTHEAST ASIA IN UNITED STATES POLICY. By *Russell H. Fifield*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1963. Pp. xi, 488. Cloth $6.50, paper $2.50.)

THE author brings a wide variety of data to bear and explores various avenues of approach. Some of his most poignant observations, however, receive so slight an emphasis that the book requires extremely careful reading and even rereading if the most salient points are not to be missed.

Professor Fifield describes the many aspects of the problem of Southeast Asia realistically and objectively. He deals with the sharp conflicts that divide the nations of the area, the difficulties inherent in a situation where eight of the nine countries have only recently emerged from colonial rule, and the nature of existing regimes. The scholarly caution he employs tends to obscure both the importance of the national rivalries and the weaknesses of some of the governments.

The account of the relations of the United States to the former European colonial powers and to Australia and New Zealand is both accurate and fair-minded. However, the author may have minimized the irritations that have resulted from the United States dominating both policy making and day-to-day decisions in Vietnam. Certainly the unhappiness of Australia over United States failure to prevent Indonesia's taking over in West New Guinea aroused more resentment than this account admits.

Fifield sees little hope of a solution to the economic problems if by solution is meant development commensurate with the rising wave of expectations of the population. The area as a whole could support more than its present 216,000,000, but some regions are already overcrowded, and the rapid growth of population that is in prospect will soon negate present advantages. At present the per capita income is less than one hundred dollars a year. Lack of capital, low educational levels, and the absence of political stability stand as obstacles to rapid industrialization.

Democracy has not yet failed, but its future is uncertain. A long history of authoritarianism and colonial rule, absence of a strong middle class, and the political orientation of the leaders of the recently successful independence movements plus the absence of political parties and the parochialism of village life hinder political democracy. Fifield presents a stimulating discussion of the three emerging groups of elite: the administrators, the bureaucracy, and the military. He cautiously expresses the hope that the military "may help create the habitual respect for authority and law which underlies free institutions."

The United States is often torn by loyalty to a traditional policy of noninterference and respect for the sovereignty of independent states on the one hand and, on the other hand, by a desire to improve the living conditions of the people within states and to serve its own interest in security. Fifield reflects this same inconsistency when he warns against interference with sovereign rights and

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at the same time calls for an American program that appeals to the felt needs of the masses of people. It is idle for Americans to hold themselves above imperialism, for our position in Southeast Asia does not square with that illusion. The relevant question is not whether we are imperialistic but whether our imperialism is competent, constructive, and consistent with the urgent need for peace.

Michigan State University PAUL A. VARG

Americas

MAN AND NATURE IN AMERICA. By *Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 231. $4.50.)

ACCORDING to Professor Ekirch, the American nation has moved from an agrarian state founded upon the eighteenth-century ideal of the harmony between man and nature to an industrial nation pursuing material progress through an exploitative technology totally destructive of nature. American history has culminated in a military state that threatens the complete obliteration of both man and nature, if not by nuclear warfare, then by overpopulation and military preparedness. As a result of this interpretation of our nation's history, Ekirch is deeply worried about the "preservation of both man and nature through the adjustment of the constructive and destructive forces of civilization" and offers this slender volume to help extricate contemporary man from a "dilemma of his own making" by providing "historical perspective" on the idea that the proper relationship between man and nature is one of "balance and harmony."

The book briefly surveys American intellectual history from the viewpoint of its restricted theme. Since the majority of Americans have always favored man over nature through technological exploitation, the author devotes his chapters to scattered voices in the wilderness such as Emerson, Thoreau, and George Perkins Marsh (pioneer physical geographer who preached the proper balance between man and nature), or he interprets well-known men and movements in light of his theme with the consequent confusion of his ideas with theirs. Hence utopian socialists, Henry George, conservationists, Hoover, and the two Roosevelts all are said to aim toward the achievement of balance and harmony.

To include such a diverse group under this narrow ideal necessitates constant shifting in the nature of the concepts of balance, harmony, nature, and man and thus the relationship among them. Sometimes the terms refer to relations between man and natural environment (for example, agrarianism, transcendentalism, or conservation), at other times to the "natural" relations among men (for example, nineteenth-century utopians), and at still other times, to the harmonious relations among the economic sectors of society (for example, the ideas of Henry Carey or Henry Wallace). The meanings shift to fit Ekirch's preoccupation with American salvation in terms of his theme rather than with the changing conceptions of man and nature as held by Americans throughout their history.

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In short, this little essay is a tract for the times and should not be judged by the usual historical canons. I hope the general public, to which the book must be directed for it is too general and too short for the scholar, is convinced of the magnitude of the problems Ekirch sees. But after being made aware of the problems, the public will be no closer to a solution of any of them.

University of Minnesota ROBERT F. BERKHOFER, JR.

THE AMERICANS: A NEW HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Oscar Handlin*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1963. Pp. xii, 434. $6.95.)

IN his preface Mr. Handlin tells us that soon after completing *The Uprooted* he turned to the composition of this book, which seeks to recount the "influence of migration upon the people of the United States." Like his earlier book, this one is impressionistic and emotional; it rarely seeks to convince or to argue, but it often endeavors to evoke a historical mood or make a judgment. From the preface, the rhetorical style, and the contents it is evident that this book is not intended primarily for readers of this review. There are no footnotes or bibliographies; quotations from sources are rare and short. Handlin hopes "in the future, as I have in the past, to make . . . available to scholars in other forms" the documentation for what is new in his story.

By and large it is a happy picture of the American past that Handlin sketches. Negroes, it is true, did not share in the bounty of nature and opportunity of which most other Americans partook. The Civil War, to be sure, was a "tragedy," but prior to the middle of the twentieth century, little else was disappointing, or, as in the case of imperialism, proved to be "a temporary aberration of American policy."

There are some suggestive interpretations in the book. Handlin sees the emptiness of the land as the source of Crevecoeur's elusive "New Man," but he adds the novel twist that though newness provided opportunity it also denied security. Thus Handlin concludes that opportunity and insecurity between them compelled men "to take risks" that "formed the character of the Americans." His analysis of individualism as the key to the 1920's is also suggestive and well illustrated.

But such rewarding interpretations are rare. For the most part, as in his statement that the New Deal was "a culmination of four decades of progressive development," his provocative interpretations are neither defended nor explored. At other times his conclusions seem to stem more from his own view of how Americans ought to have behaved than how they did. For example, the years of socially critical progressivism are summed up in this fashion: "Turning inward, Americans found cause for satisfaction in their record of economic growth after 1900." The mood of the expansive years after 1865 is put this way: "A tragic Civil War had cast a shadow of doubt across the older dream of perfectibility, of

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mankind liberated by free government, of a kingdom of God in the empty space of the New Jerusalem." Sometimes the conclusions are not supported by the evidence or are inexactly drawn. In one place, for example, he flatly says that minorities "could not become racists," ignoring the Black Muslims and the anti-Semitism of Father Coughlin, though mentioning the priest's isolationism. In another place the tariff history of the years before 1860 is summed up in the sentence, "Tariffs remained low throughout almost the whole of the period."

Furthermore, the interpretations are a strange mixture; some are sophisticated, while others are naïve. For example, compare the fine, subtly drawn summary of the variety of interests that supported colonial paper money with the examination of the social classes of the Old South, where the discredited sterotype of increasing poverty for the nonslaveholders is once again advanced. This naïveté of interpretation is most noticeable in the handling of the diplomacy surrounding the two world wars, as when Wilson does battle with the "cynical" Allies at Versailles and when FDR's overtures to the Russians are said to be based upon his belief that the USSR was a democracy.

But despite any dissatisfaction with this book by the professional historian, the real weakness lies in its being badly tailored for those for whom it was apparently intended. The book is much too allusive for the general reader to gain a clear understanding of the American experience. Furthermore, it contains too many factual errors, including the wrong dates for important events like Hitler's invasion of Russia and the decision in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. The contents of the Townshend and Sugar Acts are wrong; slave breeding was not the chief economic support of the eighteenth-century Virginia plantation. Slavery did not disappear in the North with independence. Lincoln was certainly not prepared to negotiate in 1860–1861 over slavery in the territories; Gettysburg was not the first major Confederate foray into the North. In view of the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, what does it mean to say that the Civil War was the "first of the great modern wars in which battles were fought in deadly seriousness"? It was not expected in the nineteenth century that Alaska and Hawaii would become states. It is not true to say that "after the Mexican Revolution of 1910" America refrained "from interfering there." The Chinese Communists did not invade Malaya or "oust the French" from Indochina. The Battle of Midway did more than "stave off" the Japanese; it crippled the Japanese Navy. Finally, can one seriously ascribe prostitution and concubinage on southern plantations to the "strains" of ante bellum American society as opposed to those of other societies?

Vassar College CARL N. DEGLER

EUGENICS: HEREDITARIAN ATTITUDES IN AMERICAN THOUGHT. By *Mark H. Haller*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 264. $6.00.)

WITH the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, it became evi-

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dent to the thinking fraction of mankind that the various forms of life on earth, including the human, had come into being through a natural process and that no miracle was needed to account for their existence. It followed from this that no categorical statement concerning the "creation" of man could be accepted as axiomatic. No longer could it be held as self-evident that all men were created equal or that they were endowed with special privileges and rights denied to the rest of the animal kingdom. Indeed, evolution, as described by Darwin, would have been impossible if all the individuals within a species were equal. If there were no hereditary differences for nature to select, no species could evolve.

In fact, all types of selection—both the artificial selection that had improved so greatly our cultivated plants and farm animals, and the natural selection that had brought even the human species into being—depended upon the existence of hereditary differences. At the time, it seemed to the biologists to be only logical for us to take advantage of these differences and use them not only to improve our domestic flora and fauna, but even to improve ourselves. Naturally, the complexities involved in such a program were not recognized at the time.

In order to improve the biological potentialities of the human race, it was obviously necessary both to study its heredity and to apply any knowledge that might be gained to altering the race in the desired direction. The first step would clearly be to reduce the number of human defectives, and this could be done by preventing them from bringing forth more of their kind, and thus keeping them from adding to the social burden and, perhaps, from contaminating the whole human stock. The field of this endeavor, which sought to ensure that mankind would be well born, was labeled "eugenics," a term that was devised by Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin.

The history of eugenics has many interesting aspects. At the beginning of its career it dominated the thinking of the geneticists. Practically all the scientists who created genetics were eugenecists. Indeed eugenics and genetics seemed to be a well-wedded pair. As more and more was learned about the machinery of heredity, however, genetics grew, but eugenics faded into the background. The eugenicists did their work, published their results, but did not reproduce themselves. The eugenics concept seemed to lose respectability. In certain liberal circles "eugenics" became almost a dirty word.

The eclipse of eugenics apparently was not owing to its inadequacies, although its inadequacies were manifest. It was owing rather to the fact that eugenics was incompatible with many of our democratic convictions, especially with those founded on eighteenth-century equalitarianism. This incompatibility had triggered some hostility to eugenics even before its Hitlerian perversion had started on its own dysgenic course. Eugenics always seemed more suited to a conservative political philosophy than to a liberal one, and, with the economic collapse in the 1930's, most conservative political views were obliterated.

Today things have changed. A moderate conservatism is again intellectually respectable. Hitler is gone, but Communism remains; today the genetic perver-

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sions come from the Left—from Lysenko and the party liners—rather than from the Right. Eugenics is once more beginning to emerge. As research in human genetics continues—and research in this field is active—the evaluation of human inheritance is being placed on a firmer scientific foundation. The earlier simplistic assumptions have nearly all been discarded. Perhaps, in the not too distant future, the political, racial, and genetic problems implied in the term "eugenics" will be considered on their merits.

Professor Haller has written a detailed and, on the whole, accurate and objective history of the eugenics movement in the United States. The subject, of course, is large and could hardly be covered in detail in any medium-sized book. The author has had to pick and choose and, in some cases, hit only the high spots. He has emphasized certain aspects of the subject and soft-peddled others. His selections, however, come well within his auctorial perquisites; the 189 pages of text contain much valuable and condensed information.

University of Pennsylvania CONWAY ZIRKLE

VISIBLE SAINTS: THE HISTORY OF A PURITAN IDEA. By *Edmund S. Morgan*. ([New York:] New York University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 159. $4.50.)

THE assault on New England Puritanism, the Himalayas of American historiography, continues. From the nineteenth century to the present, a number of intrepid scholars have sought to climb the ideational peaks of this massive system of thought—and their efforts have produced, in turn, a "literary" mountain of formidable proportions. In recent years, Perry Miller achieved the distinction of not only scaling the uppermost heights of New England Puritanism, but of accomplishing the feat by way of the treacherous, and heretofore impenetrable, "intellectual trail." Utilizing Miller's techniques and theories of approach, a number of recent scholars have made conquests of secondary peaks of Puritan thought; for example, Emil Oberholzer, George Haskins, Emory Battis, and Edmund Morgan.

While Morgan's literary portfolio shows remarkable diversity, it is studded with works on Puritanism. In addition to numerous articles, he has written three noteworthy books on various phases of the subject (*The Puritan Family* [1944]; *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* [1958]; *The Gentle Puritan, A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* [1962]). *Visible Saints* further solidifies his reputation as a leading authority on this enigmatic subject. An expanded version of his Anson G. Phelps Lectures of 1962 (presented at New York University), this slender volume focuses on the central issue of church membership. Morgan posits and develops a revisionary main thesis: the practice of basing membership upon a declaration of experiencing saving grace, or "conversion," was first put into effect not in England, Holland, or Plymouth, as is commonly related, but in Massachusetts Bay Colony by nonseparating Puritans. Morgan asserts that scholars have mistakenly read practice into the theories of William

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Ames and other theological "brain trusters" of English Congregationalism. He affirms that, while these religious leaders may have written effusively on the need of limiting church membership to "visible saints," it was the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay who, in the 1630's and 1640's, actually put theory to the test. Subsequently, this new form of church membership spread to Plymouth, to New Haven, and to England itself. In four compact chapters, which are based upon Yale University's extensive Henry M. Dexter Collection of Puritan tracts and the American Antiquarian Society's microtexts of the titles in Evans' *American Bibliography,* Morgan traces and analyzes the English background of the ideal of a "pure" church; the theory and practice of church membership of the Separatists in England and Holland; the institutionalization of the "idea" in Massachusetts Bay; and the eventual breakdown and repudiation of the new concept of church membership. A concluding chapter projects the story into the eighteenth century, terminating with Jonathan Edwards' morphology of conversion, which fused Calvin with Locke and represented, in Morgan's judgment, "full circle."

While Morgan's sources and subject matter are as familiar to students of Puritanism as eighteenth-century recipes for mulled wine, his interpretations are novel, and they may well necessitate a reappraisal, if not revision, of lecture notes. His unorthodox interpretation of the halfway covenant (not a sign of decline in piety, or a repudiation of earlier standards) represents a provocative secondary thesis. His few, suggestive words on the metamorphosis of Puritan thought from tribal devotion to a broadening evangelical outlook deserve further amplification in a future work. Characterized by stylistic grace and exegetic finesse, *Visible Saints* is another scholarly milestone in the "Millerian Age" of Puritan historiography.

Cincinnati Historical Society LOUIS L. TUCKER

SAINTS AND SECTARIES: ANNE HUTCHINSON AND THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY. By *Emery Battis.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1962. Pp. xv, 379. $7.50.)

THE author of this book treats three interrelated subjects: a biography of Anne Hutchinson with an effort to apply the behavioral sciences, to determine the "specific psychological response to a complex set of emotional pressures" that would explain Mrs. Hutchinson's motives and actions; an attempt to "develop Professor [Perry] Miller's conclusions along lines relevant to the Antinomian Controversy and to place them within the historical narrative of that event"; a sociological study of "The Social Pattern of Religious Protest."

The biographical and historical research is thorough, accurate, and well annotated throughout. It has been about a half century since a synthesized study has been made of the Antinomian controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony,

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and the author has done an excellent job of pulling together English and American materials relating to Mrs. Hutchinson and her admirers. The psychological analysis is muted, with only a little resort to jargon, and it is reasonable and convincing. But also it seems to make very little difference in the picture we have had of Mrs. Hutchinson since early in the present century.

Among the book's strongest features are its treatment of John Cotton's deviations from New England orthodoxy, of Mrs. Hutchinson's relationships with and reactions to Cotton's teachings, and of Mrs. Hutchinson's own religious development. The conditions and circumstances of Anne Hutchinson's life both in Old England and New England are splendidly portrayed so that the reader is given a clear picture of her religious development and her mode of faith. But the author is less clear in describing, in the large, what Antinomianism was and in what way and to what extent Mrs. Hutchinson was an Antinomian. Perhaps it is a pity, in this instance, that theology is not considered to be a behavioral science.

Chapter XVII is devoted almost wholly to "The Social Pattern of Religious Protest." Six of the seven appendixes bolster this chapter with statistical tables of the personnel of the Hutchinson group in New England. The seventh and last is "A Diagnosis of Mrs. Hutchinson's Behavior in Terms of Menopausal Symptoms." The author has done an enormous amount of work to gather these data, and he advances the interesting hypothesis that the "vibrant socio-economic overtones" in the conflict were enhanced by the fact that the leaders of the Hutchinson group were largely merchants and craftsmen while the opposition (and those in positions of authority in the Bay Colony) were mostly gentry and yeomanry. The picture is blurred considerably, however, when one turns from the "Core Group" of the Hutchinsonians to the "Support Group" and the "Peripheral Group" so that the hypothesis is somewhat weakened. That the Hutchinsonians on the whole were a comparatively well-to-do group is established—and is important.

In my opinion, the author places too much credence in the realism of portraits of the time and is overly prone to assess character from facial characteristics therein portrayed. His choice of words occasionally seems unfortunate if not inaccurate. It seems doubtful, for instance, that there was a "whine" of saws from the hand-powered saw pit in Boston, that the Reverend Mr. Shepard "mewed," that Nathaniel Ward "laconically grunted" an entire sentence. It is wholly within bounds to transpose materials from Mrs. Hutchinson's trials to direct discourse, but some of the verbal frameworks, in an effort to be colorful, are clumsy and are sometimes reminiscent of the current fad for "Tom Swifties." These are unfortunate blemishes in an otherwise solid book which holds promise of becoming the most up-to-date and authoritative account of the Antinomian controversy in the Bay Colony.

University of Illinois RAYMOND P. STEARNS

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THE PEOPLE'S PANEL: THE GRAND JURY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1634–1941. By *Richard D. Younger.* (Providence, R. I.: American History Research Center, Brown University Press. 1963. Pp. 263. $6.00.)

THIS competent and well-written study succeeds very well in demonstrating the important part that grand juries have played within the larger context of American political and social history. Younger portrays nicely the considerable role that grand juries played in the developing revolutionary quarrel between Great Britain and the colonies, a role attested to by Lord North when he wrote a prohibition on elective grand juries into the Massachusetts Government Act of 1774. Grand juries, the author makes clear, were important instruments of frontier democracy, both in the Mississippi Valley and the Far West. In the slavery controversy, both the protagonists and the enemies of the "peculiar institution" used the grand jury as a political weapon, as the Prigg, Burns, and Booth cases all demonstrated. Particularly interesting is Younger's account of the way in which the grand jury after 1870 became an indispensable instrument of municipal reform, from the days when a grand jury brought about the downfall of the infamous Tweed Ring in New York, to the late 1930's, when an antiracketeering grand jury under the guidance of Thomas E. Dewey smashed the profitable prostitution network of "Lucky" Luciano and his confederates.

Inevitably, a comprehensive account of this kind has some possible limitations. The author, quite evidently, is not a lawyer, and he makes little or no effort to explore carefully the technical questions with respect to grand jury authority, procedure, responsibility, and the like, except where these matters impinge upon political history. The study, in short, is sociopolitical history and not legal history in any narrow, specific sense. More serious, Younger is a convinced protagonist of the grand jury, declaring frankly that he believes it to be "an integral part of American democratic government." This bias leads to a certain one-sided approach to the story of grand jury activities, which on occasion very nearly takes on the flavor of a "cops and robbers" narrative in which certain shortcomings of the grand jury process are neglected. As a consequence, we have, for example, no clear exposition of why state supreme courts have "for technical reasons" so often set grand jury indictments aside. The author discusses very honestly the recurrent movement in the legal profession, both in England and America, for the outright abolition of the grand jury, but he makes little effort to examine the technical evidence for and against the institution, resting his defense merely on the assertion that the grand jury's admitted inefficiency is part of the price one pays for democracy. But these shortcomings in the study, if they are that, hardly detract decisively from its notable service in integrating the grand jury's role into the larger stream of American political and social history.

Wayne State University ALFRED H. KELLY

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LAND USE POLICY AND PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Howard W. Ottoson.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. x, 470. $6.00.)

THIS series of eighteen essays on public land policy, past, present, and future, resulted from papers presented at a Homestead Centennial Symposium at the University of Nebraska, June 11–14, 1962. The papers both review the history and administration of American land policy from independence to the present day and speculate on future needs and trends in land use, both in the United States and abroad. The general headings are: "The Historical Background," "Social Factors Influencing U. S. Land Policy," "Past, Present and Future Demands for Land in the United States," "Control of Land Resources," and "Implications for Future Land Policy." The book is interdisciplinary in nature; contributors include economists, government employees, historians, a political scientist, a geographer, a professional writer, and a congressman.

Some of the essays are outstanding. Thomas LeDuc gives an able analysis of the early themes of development and disposal and of the political response to the popular interest in unearned increment. Paul W. Gates surveys the operation of the Homestead Act between 1862 and 1915, analyzing both its successes and failures. Mari Sandoz presents a beautifully written account of the homestead era in Nebraska between 1880 and 1900, and Carl Sauer suggests many possibilities for research in social history of the middle border. One of the best essays in the book is Ross B. Talbot's account of the forces of federalism, politics, and government agencies in shaping and carrying on public land policy. He concludes with an eloquent and timely warning of the dangers to an intelligent land policy from the "historical regression" and irrationality of the radical Right.

As public land historians shift their fields of study from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the recent past and the present, they will find their tasks more complex. New and sophisticated approaches will be needed to study and analyze the relations of the population explosion to urban and recreational land management, the significance of new types of federalism, and the increased application of science and technology to land use. The essays in the latter half of the book indicate both the problems faced by the scholar and some of the approaches to be used. Of particular value are the essays by M. M. Kelso on resolving land use conflicts, by Raleigh Marlowe on land use for recreation, by Marion Clawson on public and private interest in public land, and by Gene Wunderlich on satisfying the economic demands for natural resources.

Both imaginative and scholarly, this book is a worthy companion to another recent volume, Vernon Carstensen's *The Public Lands.* Both the historian and members of allied disciplines will find this a valuable and provocative book.

Michigan Technological University LAWRENCE RAKESTRAW

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THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume VII, SEPTEMBER 1790–JANUARY 1791. Edited by *Harold C. Syrett. Jacob E. Cooke,* Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 644. $12.50.)

THIS volume is further proof of the industry and expertness of the editors. In large part these pages portray Hamilton's successful efforts to create such government organs as the Bank of the United States and the mint, tools with which the Treasury could operate. The first Report on the Public Credit, submitted nine months before this period commences, was in some sense a continuation of the constitutional discussion. Its character was moral and political even more than fiscal. The two reports here presented are by contrast economic and in lower key. Of course the bank provoked party controversy, and Hamilton was obliged to use persuasion as well as exposition in its behalf. But now he was fashioning essentially administrative agencies, in which technical knowledge was more necessary than high resolve.

The editors offer, for the first time in print, the drafts of these proposals, with Hamilton's second thoughts interlined and rearrangements indicated. In what he discarded, substituted, shortened, and elaborated his mental processes are made vivid. The prefatory notes, amounting to scholarly introductory essays discussing the certain, probable, and possible sources of the reports, provide a superior service. The influence of writings known to Hamilton is given added emphasis and documentation, for example, Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* (1767). Other guides are suggested for the first time, such as John Beale Bordley's *On Monies, Coins, Weights, and Measures* (1789, supplement 1790).

A newly independent nation today, needing to establish its credit and develop its resources, is apt to be better situated than was America a year after Hamilton took office. It probably has not recently emerged from war and the confusion of a false start in government such as we experienced in the Revolution and Confederation. It may have had the benefit of constructive, not negligent or injurious, colonial administration. Funds, planning, agricultural, industrial, and social services are offered, even pressed upon the fledgling country by advanced economies and international agencies. A friendly world is eager to assist with experience and material means. Economists, engineers, specialists in public health, education, and total wise organization may be summoned to the scene. The United States, by contrast, suffered in these respects. At the outset main responsibility for building solvency, prosperity, and progress rested on an empty Treasury. Congress all but resigned the task to the young Secretary, who had to devise and execute an immediate rescue. These papers—reports, directions, correspondence, loan negotiations—tell the story of that expeditious launch into national competence. Hamilton's role was truly that of the political economist. He had to recruit knowledge, frame institutions, educate and persuade many in Congress to his views, propose sources of revenue, and supervise the daily collection of taxes. He combined the

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imaginative and the punctilious, the hortative and the technical. Of course associates and friends helped—Tench Coxe, Oliver Wolcott, William Bingham, Robert Morris, Thomas FitzSimons, and others who appear in these pages.

These volumes, when twice as many more have been added, will gather on a single shelf the history of Hamilton and, by the same token, much of that of the federal period. Wide travels of students to see unpublished items will be avoided; indeed no amount of individual inquiry would have discovered the whereabouts of elusive materials here collected and faithfully presented.

Hofstra University BROADUS MITCHELL

JEFFERSON AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE DARKER SIDE. By *Leonard W. Levy*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 225. $4.50.)

THE author of this book says that his target, in part, is the "libertarian halo" that historians and biographers have placed on the brow of Jefferson, "as if he were a plaster saint, a seraph, or a demigod." Professor Levy suggests that, like Hercules, he is cleaning the Augean stables. In his effort to expose sin, error, and dereliction he has ranged through the entire career of Jefferson, covering half a century or more, and has collected a considerable pile of what he regards as dirt. Recognizing that his presentation partakes of the character of a lawyer's brief, he states that his admiration for Jefferson is tempered by "steely realism," and, while admitting that balance is not his objective, he claims that in fact he is restoring it. By calling a spade a spade he seeks to advance the cause of truth and, presumably, that of civil liberties. Levy has a strong aversion to conventional encomiums. I was not aware that recent historians and biographers had indulged in them conspicuously in connection with Jefferson. Some scholars, lovers of liberty in an age of totalitarian threat, may have tended to see in his protean character the sort of thing they most wanted to see, but it would be difficult to find among the serious students of the man and his times anyone who regards him as a plaster saint or demigod, and I think we may assume that these students, also, are devoted to the cause of truth. I hope, however, that they can arrive at a closer approximation of the whole truth than Levy does or even attempts to do in this volume.

While honoring his desire to illuminate the history of civil liberties in the young republic, I do not believe that the best way to do this is to concentrate on the words and deeds (or misdeeds) of any one man. Levy refers only incidentally to the responsible leaders whom, rightly or wrongly, Jefferson regarded as enemies of freedom and whom he himself apparently regards as merely political foes. He asserts that "the idealist come to power did unto his enemies before they did unto him," but I am under the impression that generally the reverse was true even in the administration of the third President, as it unquestionably was previously. If Levy has cleaned other stables, he does not exhibit the dirt, and we are

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therefore unable to compare the size of the piles or to determine why the dirt got where it was in the first place. Jefferson's alleged sins of omission and commission against civil liberties he attributes in considerable part to that gentleman's acute awareness of the dangers to which the experiment in self-government was exposed from both within and without. At least by implication, however, he minimizes those dangers by saying that Jefferson exaggerated them. This was undoubtedly true at times but certainly not always and perhaps not most of the time. Presumably the author is well aware of the services of the third President in making the republican experiment a success in an era of national insecurity and world-wide counterrevolution. He admits that in biographical terms he is telling a fragmentary and one-sided story, but it is also an unbalanced and injudicious account of a phase of the history of liberty in America.

Most of the facts assembled here as charges are incontestable as discrete facts. Levy directed attention to a good many of the same episodes in *Legacy of Suppression,* an earlier book in which he was more disposed to distribute blame. Some of these facts might have been overlooked if he had not turned the spotlight on them in the present volume, but, by and large, they are familiar to serious students of the period. It seems that, at nearly every point, the worst construction is put on them in this brief for the prosecution. For example, the interpretations of the Burr conspiracy and the embargo virtually echo those of Jefferson's contemporary political foes. Whatever may be concluded about his statesmanship in these matters, his actions should be viewed in the broad setting of historical circumstance and some recognition be given to the larger problems he was facing. The same may be said of the few moves against seditious libel in Jefferson's administration of which Levy makes so much. He does not seem thoroughly familiar with the attendant political circumstances and appears to view events through the eyes of the President's bitterest foes. Their charge that he instituted a reign of terror was a gross distortion of reality and misuse of words. In his previous book Levy did much to clarify the Sedition Act of 1798, taking some of the odium off that measure. Some allowance should have been made here for the campaign of hate waged by an extremist minority against Jefferson's government, in contempt, as he believed, of the sovereignty of the people. And, in fairness, the President's total record of resistance to extremist pressure from his own partisans should have been taken into some account.

Levy gives Jefferson a clean bill of health with respect to freedom of religion, recognizing that in this field he was pre-eminent in theory and consistent in practice, but this judgment can hardly be reconciled with the assertion that Jefferson never really hazarded anything for any libertarian value. Levy grants him major credit for making the public sensitive to libertarian considerations, and toward the end of the book goes so far as to say that, given the circumstances of his career, a degree of dereliction should not be shocking or surprising. One wonders, therefore, at the vehemence of his own previous protestation. In his treatment of the American Revolution he couples Jefferson's attitude toward the

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loyalists with that of Washington, John Adams, Paine, and Patrick Henry, recognizing that they were waging a fiercely patriotic war, but as a rule he refers to the climate of opinion and mitigating circumstances in general terms rather than in connection with specific episodes, which are thus viewed out of context and left in something of a vacuum.

I am uncertain just what criteria were applied by the author in reaching the judgments that he himself describes as harsh, for at one point he charges Jefferson with being false to his own philosophy of freedom, and at another blames him for having none—except with respect to religion and the mind. One way to resolve this contradiction is to recognize that, though friendly to freedom in all fields and disposed to pronounce principles in general terms and glowing words, Jefferson as a man of public affairs and a responsible official recognized politics as the art of the possible. One reason he never set forth a systematic philosophy of freedom of speech may have been that he doubted the feasibility of formulating one that would always work. I am not sure whether or not Levy approves of the assertion of a minor Republican, George Hay, that freedom of speech, like chastity, is either absolute or does not exist, but I judge that he approves of the "new libertarianism," which he perceives as emanating from Republican circles and which seems to have been that sort of doctrine. He says, with apparent regret, that Jefferson contributed nothing to this and was little affected by it. We may concede that the man who is still the most famous American champion of individual liberties was an absolutist with respect to no freedom except that of the mind and spirit, and that in the conduct of public affairs he did not let abstractions preclude the exercise of enlightened intelligence. Of course he was not always wise and just. He was not always reasonable, but he was more so than his major adversaries, and, judging from his entire life, that was what he most wanted men to be. If he was more of a political relativist than has been commonly supposed and less of a doctrinaire, that may be a ground for approving him rather than condemning him in our own age.

University of Virginia DUMAS MALONE

MANY THOUSAND GONE: THE EX-SLAVES' ACCOUNT OF THEIR BONDAGE AND FREEDOM. By *Charles H. Nichols.* [Studien zur amerikanischen Literatur und Geschichte, herausgegeben vom Amerika-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1963. Pp. xvi, 229. Glds. 24.)

THE purpose of this book, according to its author, is to delineate the institution of slavery "from the point of view of those whose unpaid labor maintained the plantation system of the Old South." To accomplish this he has drawn his data principally from seventy-seven published slave narratives and twenty-three narrative collections. While recognizing that this " 'inside view' of slavery may not be the whole view," he maintains that it is "an indispensable, though almost neglected, phase of the subject."

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The first of the four parts into which this book is organized presents eyewitness descriptions of the foreign and domestic slave trade, of the master class, of life on the plantations, and of the physical cruelty that was an inevitable part of slavery. In the second part we learn how the Negroes accommodated themselves to bondage and how bondage affected their personalities. In the third part many fugitives tell us about their experiences as freemen and about their roles in the Underground Railroad and the abolitionist movement. The fourth part, which is not really relevant to the rest of the book, contains polemical attacks on prejudice and discrimination and on the distortions of Negro character in history and fiction.

The most valuable material is in the section where Nichols identifies three general types of Negro adjustment to bondage. One type was almost total submission; another was open rebellion in a variety of forms; a third type, which Nichols believes was the most common, "was marked by apparent cooperation but shows submerged elements of protest." This was "role playing" as it frequently has been identified and described by modern psychologists and sociologists in their studies of American Negroes. The slave narratives, Nichols believes, confirm the findings of behavioral scientists along another line: that "the 'haves' adjust and the 'have nots' do not. A sense of belonging, the opportunity to participate in the life of the community and to share in its rewards produces a stable, cooperative individual, loyal to the society that protects him." The conditions of slavery, however, produced a personality that was "fearful, aggressive, guilty and disintegrated."

Nichols is aware of the limitations of slave narratives as historical sources, especially of those that were written for illiterate fugitives by white abolitionists. Yet he does not always use the narratives as critically as he should. His book, moreover, is loosely organized, highly discursive, and weakened by generalizations of doubtful validity. In my opinion, a well-edited anthology of slave narratives would have been of greater value to the historian than the snippets that were woven together in this rather unsatisfactory volume.

University of California, Berkeley KENNETH M. STAMPP

THE CIVIL WAR: A NARRATIVE. Volume II, FREDERICKSBURG TO MERIDIAN. By *Shelby Foote.* (New York: Random House. 1963. Pp. 988. $12.50.)

THREE multivolume histories of the Civil War are currently in progress. Allan Nevins' third volume of *The War for the Union* will appear shortly; Bruce Catton recently completed the second of three volumes in his *Centennial History of the Civil War;* and with the publication of this book, Shelby Foote draws abreast of Catton with his own proposed three volumes on the cataclysm of the 1860's.

In reviewing any one of the above, an almost natural inclination exists to compare it with the others. The scholarship, keen interpretations, and valuable analyses of Nevins place his writings in a superior class of their own. Where

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Catton and Foote are concerned, however, one can grasp real comparative tangibles.

Both writers concentrate on military matters; both are at their best on the battlefields. Catton, a little more than Foote, makes an occasional venture into the domain of Civil War politics and society. Yet neither seems quite at ease in such surroundings. Catton leans more to the northern side, while Foote's affections lie with the South. Both writers feel the trans-Allegheny theater to be of more importance than historians have heretofore conceded, and each accordingly compensates for this with detailed discussions of events in Tennessee and farther westward.

A striking difference between Catton and Foote appears in their respective research and writing. Catton depends heavily on the research labors of the indefatigable E. B. Long and makes frequent use of manuscript sources. Foote apparently works alone and relies in large part on printed materials. Neither author leaves many stones unturned. In presentation, Catton is becoming increasingly interpretive. Foote's main concern is to tell a good, full, and fairly familiar story in as interesting a style as possible. Catton writes vividly and fosters understanding; Foote writes movingly and invites quoting.

Foote's first volume appeared in 1958, and the third and final installment is due five years hence. Volume II opens with the military preparations culminating at Prairie Grove, Fredericksburg, and Stone's River. The book closes with Grant journeying to Washington in March 1864 to assume command of all Federal armies. Concentration centers around the bloodbath at Stone's River (which Foote considers an underrated engagement), on the long and complicated siege of Vicksburg, and on the holocausts at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg.

The author's judgments of commanders and national leaders on both sides run basically true to tradition. Yet unlike most previous writers, Foote manages to strike a happy balance in his discussions of the Jefferson Davis-Joe Johnston feud. Factual errors in such a large, detailed narrative are so few as to be negligible. The type is large and readable, fifty-two maps enhance the text, and the book itself is downright handsome.

Foote is a powerful writer, and he is dealing with a powerful subject. The result is an absorbing combination of drama, color, and horror about a war that possessed them all.

George Washington University James I. Robertson, Jr.

STANTON: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LINCOLN'S SECRETARY OF WAR. By *Benjamin P. Thomas* and *Harold M. Hyman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. xvii, 642, xii. $8.50.)

At last the obstinate need for a thorough, well-organized, and scholarly biography of E. M. Stanton has been met, and by a book so distinguished that it may

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be assigned a place among the indispensable volumes on the Civil War period. The difficulties in dealing with Stanton are so thorny that it is not strange that previous biographers—the amateurish and naïve George C. Gorman, the confused Frank A. Flower, and the excessively journalistic Fletcher Pratt—have failed. One enigma lies in the baffling psychology of the man. As Gamaliel Bradford wrote long ago, it is hard to comprehend how a leader with so many repellent traits, including arrogance, jealousy, capriciousness, violence, and even duplicity, could be so successful a war minister. Another difficulty lies in the incessant condemnation that these traits brought down upon his head, so that the real man is often hard to discern amid the cloud of acrid criticisms from his contemporaries. A third impediment is still greater. When so many of the critical decisions in the conduct of military affairs were made through consultations of Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck, Meigs, and one or two others, with no precise record, the role played by Stanton is sometimes cloudy. The muddying of the waters by such men as the late Otto Eisenschiml has not been helpful.

The late Ben Thomas, who made an able beginning, and Dr. Hyman, who in the end performed most of the work, have surmounted all obstacles. Their portrait of this passionate, hard-driving, excitable man, so rough because his duties were mainly harsh and painful and so impatient because so dedicated, is persuasive. Quite correctly, they make it clear that the brutal fits of temper that so offended his War Department associate Ethan Allen Hitchcock, the sudden changes of front that made Gideon Welles characterize him as a two-faced dissembler, and the apprehensiveness of danger that caused Grant to call him timid were not really important. His significant qualities were his unexcelled gift for organization, his love of precision, the incessant dynamic industry that wore out his aids and his own constitution, his unflinching patriotism, and his combative power. All this the authors fully illustrate. They give us a clearer picture of the man than we as yet have of any other member of Lincoln's official family, including the equally complex Seward or Chase. In their record of the war and of Stanton's part in it they have had to explore a thousand controversial transactions. In this they do not always seem completely objective, for it has been impossible to avoid a defensive attitude. But in dealing with all elements of the story from the choice of generals to the management of recruiting, and from slavery to civil liberties, their treatment is remarkable for its examination of every shred of evidence and its crisp penetration. The biography makes an important contribution to history, not in new letters or utterances, but in its patient analysis of the intricate wartime issues. And simply as a narrative, the story is interestingly told.

The book makes it clearer than ever that Stanton was unfortunate in not terminating his public services after Appomattox. His role in the war had been heroic; if not a truly great man, he was very nearly an indispensable man—as Lincoln repeatedly said. But his part in Reconstruction was from every point of view, even the most sympathetic, a sad chapter. He offered his resignation in

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1865, Lincoln rejected it, and he did not insist. Lincoln thought he might be as useful in Reconstruction as in military affairs, but Lincoln could not know the precise extent, well indicated here, to which Stanton was diverging from the President's southern policy. Incidentally, one of the most revealing chapters of the book is that entitled "Stanton's Lincoln."

Huntington Library ALLAN NEVINS

CENTURY OF SERVICE: THE FIRST 100 YEARS OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. By *Gladys L. Baker et al.* (Washington, D. C.: Centennial Committee, U. S. Department of Agriculture. [1963.] Pp. xv, 560. $2.75.)

IN anticipation of the one hundredth anniversary of the creation of the United States Department of Agriculture in 1862 an able group of members of the Economic Research Service of that Department was selected to prepare this account of the development of activities of the government in the field of agriculture in so far as they have been centered in it. The result of their work is an organizational history in which major attention is given to legislation authorizing new activities, the growth of bureaus, agencies, services, and divisions that have responsibility for these activities and the personnel that has headed them. The allocation of space is defensible: 37 pages for the years from 1836 when government patronage of agriculture began with the collection and publication of agricultural information and distribution of seeds by the Patent Office, to 1897, during which period the Department attained cabinet status, the first experiment stations were created, the Bureau of Animal Industry was established, and the Texas cattle fever conquered; 48 pages for the period 1897 to 1920 when the bureaus of Plant Industry, Entomology, and Soils, and the Forest Service were established, and farm credit was made available; 45 pages to the tragic years 1920–1933 when agriculture, badly depressed, lacked the power in Washington, especially in the White House, to gain its major objectives; 224 pages through the era of Henry Wallace, the Farm Bureau, and agricultural relief; and finally 29 pages to Ezra Taft Benson's administration.

The most involved and complex farm relief measures are briefly treated but without critical appraisal. Strained efforts to be objective are made throughout, but are not entirely successful. Careful readers can easily see that for the twentieth century Henry A. Wallace's leadership is most appreciated and that Ezra Taft Benson's and William M. Jardine's are approved least. I could not but feel that too much is claimed for the Department's leadership in the development of hybrid corn and the beginning of farm management studies. Liberty Hyde Bailey is not mentioned in connection with the Country Life Commission of which he was both the life and the soul; William I. Myer's part in the creation of the Farm Credit Administration and Upton Sinclair's contribution to the movement for the Food and Drug Administration are overlooked. Changes in top

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personnel in the Department and in the bureaus are regularly mentioned so that a great array of names appear, some of which could be left to the tables at the rear of the book without any loss. On the other hand, individuals not on the Department's staff who had much influence in shaping agricultural legislation such as George Wehrwein (not mentioned) and John D. Black (mentioned once) are neglected. L. C. Gray, outstanding land planner and agricultural economist, deserves more attention. Agencies second only to the Department of Agriculture in shaping agricultural development such as the old General Land Office (now the Bureau of Land Management) and the Reclamation Service find no place in this work. Nor indeed is there any information concerning the fairly consistent bureaucratic squabbling that in the past so wracked the Departments of Agriculture and Interior.

For a manual of the Department's numerous activities, when they were begun, and who administered them, this work is sufficient. Its bibliography is useful, its capsule sketches of principal officers of the Department, past and present, are convenient, and its summary of the organization of the agencies in the Department may find sympathetic readers.

Cornell University PAUL W. GATES

TREASURE HILL: PORTRAIT OF A SILVER MINING CAMP. By *W. Turrentine Jackson*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1963. Pp. 254. $5.00.)

AFTER years of neglect, the field of western mining history began to come alive in 1958 with the publication of Clark C. Spence's *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier*. More recently, Rodman W. Paul's *Mining Frontiers of the Far West* and William S. Greever's *Bonanza West* have further filled out a subject that once attracted mainly chroniclers of mining rushes, in particular popularizers of the California hysteria of 1848–1849. Now comes Turrentine Jackson with a further refinement of a special facet of the West's mining story.

In 1868, on the crest of a Nevada hill, the little-known White Pine mining region spawned a silver boom that lasted only two seasons, but it generated important economic consequences. Jackson modestly claims to have written "a case study of the social, economic, and political life of a typical mining district. . . ." But he has done more. The book not only affords readers a view, in depth, of a subject often troweled over—that is, life within an encapsulated mining camp. It also establishes those financial and managerial strands that led out of such a remote area to San Francisco, New York, and London. Sustained by British capital, the sources of which Jackson has studied intensively, his "treasure hill" became the locus of a fusion of Anglo-American business entrepreneurship. That aspect of his work—foreign investment in the West—emancipates this book from the microcosmic view that has characterized the writing of local mining historians and antiquarians. *Treasure Hill,* although ostensibly regional history, is macrocos-

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mic in its impact. Jackson, incidentally, points out that, in general, British investors put more money and energy into financial ventures in the West than they ever took out in profits. They thereby helped advance the economic maturity of a region where risk capital remained a scarcity before and after the turn of the century.

In short, this is a uniquely varied study, widely conceived. Occasionally Jackson's style, indeed, reaches dramatic intensity. In his concern with mining statistics and technical matters he did not omit the human element so necessary for the projection of a successful narrative.

The book's extensive documentation, foreign and domestic, is obvious. Except for an indifferent binding, clothed in a colorful dust jacket, the book is also typographically well executed. Finally, it seems almost anachronistic that this book came to be published in Arizona rather than Nevada which, thus far, has virtually no book publishing establishment of consequence.

Occidental College ANDREW F. ROLLE

WILLIAM McKINLEY AND HIS AMERICA. By *H. Wayne Morgan.* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 595. $9.00.)

IN this interesting biography, Professor Morgan argues that William McKinley was a transitional figure in the history of the presidency, neither an old-fashioned chief executive like his predecessor, Cleveland, nor a modern one like his successor, Theodore Roosevelt. His role, Morgan writes, was to ameliorate "the diverse forces that disturbed the country in the tumultuous nineties" and "ease his country and his people into the new position their responsibilities demanded." Before arriving at this conclusion, Morgan carefully surveys McKinley's long career. His research is thorough, his approach friendly but dispassionate.

Morgan's McKinley is not very different from the man portrayed by earlier biographers: genial, deeply religious, conscientious, tolerant, honest, lovable, but unimaginative, cautious, and sometimes timid. However, he stresses McKinley's nationalism, demonstrated not in spread-eagle patriotic oratory but in his conviction that no fundamental conflicts or antagonisms divided the country, that every class and section could prosper without injury to any other. Morgan makes clear that McKinley was no friend of the special interests, never a spokesman for local Ohio ironmasters alone. He supported the protective tariff as much to benefit labor as capital. Being a nationalist did not make him an isolationist or a narrow enemy of all things foreign. He appreciated the possibilities of reciprocal tariff agreements early in his career, and as President advocated the annexation of Hawaii in very strong terms. "We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California," he said. "It is manifest destiny."

The conventional account of McKinley's reluctance to take over the Philippines is sharply challenged in this biography. "From the first, McKinley was inclined to

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retention of the islands," Morgan claims. The President's seeming hesitation was merely a "long search for support for that position." Morgan concludes that in his last months McKinley was rapidly coming to understand the complex social and economic changes taking place in the United States. Had he lived, in addition to pressing for reciprocity, he would have taken action against the trusts and adopted a more aggressive policy in his dealings with Congress and with public opinion.

The author presents many new details and fills in a number of gaps in treating such questions as the "rescuing" of McKinley when he was threatened with bankruptcy, his long association with Mark Hanna, and the appointment of Theodore Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. His description of McKinley's method of administering the presidential office is the fullest in print. (He stresses the President's powers of persuasion, his thoroughness, patience, and deliberation, his restraint in the employment of patronage, his talent for attracting first-rate men to the public service and then giving them adequate authority to do their jobs, but also his excessive caution and his refusal to risk his personal popularity by appealing for public support on controversial questions.) Morgan also studs his pages with concise but thoughtful sketches of minor figures and with nice turns of phrase, as when he writes that McKinley "had a splendid eye for bandwagons," but "never mounted one until he was sure of its destination."

Nevertheless, considering the scope of the research, this is not as important a book as one would have hoped. Morgan has not changed in any basic way the impression left by earlier biographers. He tells us repeatedly that McKinley's whole life was politics, but does not attempt to explain why he found the subject so fascinating. McKinley seems to have had no desire for great wealth, nor even to have relished power particularly. Why then, especially when his beloved wife found the life so taxing, did he devote himself so completely to getting and holding office? Morgan does not rival Margaret Leech as a vivid storyteller or as a portraitist, and despite the fullness of his research he has not greatly altered the standard interpretation of McKinley the politician that William Olcott published in 1916. Little is added to our knowledge of the subject's congressional activities. On such questions as the sources of his campaign funds in the early years, the assessment of corporations in the 1896 campaign, and the use of pressure on workingmen to persuade them to vote the Republican ticket in that election, nothing new is offered.

Although Morgan is no mere apologist, he sometimes fails to criticize aspects of McKinley's career that require censure, or at least defense. He is far too easy on him in the shameful matter of the appointment of the aging John Sherman as Secretary of State to make a place for Hanna in the Senate. He describes, but passes no judgment on McKinley's strange refusal to prepare for war with Spain after making policy decisions that offered Spain no alternative to war but capitulation to his demands. He characterizes McKinley's secretiveness throughout the Cuban crisis as a "statesmanlike pose above the battle." He offers no explanation

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at all for McKinley's refusal to spike the Roosevelt vice-presidential boom in 1900, which almost caused a break between the President and Hanna.

In some cases, the author does speak sharply of McKinley's inadequacies. He uses phrases like "incredibly squeamish" and "softhearted weakness" in treating the President's protracted refusal to force Secretary of War Alger from the cabinet. He states clearly that McKinley was wrong in not trying to calm public hysteria after the *Maine* disaster. Yet his general conclusion is that McKinley was a firm, farsighted leader, restricted in his achievements more by "merciless events" than by his own limitations. That McKinley was a great character, a man of noble simplicity, warmth, and charm, we already knew. That he was even a near great President, as Morgan seems to think, remains undemonstrated. This is a good book—the best-balanced and most up-to-date on McKinley—but it is not a work of outstanding originality or insight.

Columbia University JOHN A. GARRATY

GEORGE C. MARSHALL: EDUCATION OF A GENERAL, 1880–1939. By *Forrest C. Pogue.* With the editorial assistance of *Gordon Harrison.* Foreword by *Omar N. Bradley.* (New York: Viking Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 421. $7.50.)

IT is not given to many men to spend fifty-nine years almost unnoted by the world at large and then to attain—and deserve—such glory as crowned General George C. Marshall in those tremendous later years of achievement. In such a case it is fitting that the entire first volume of a three-volume "authorized" biography should cover only the fifty-nine years, for it was they that truly provided the *Education of a General,* as Forrest C. Pogue entitles his study. The later volumes, on high performance in World War II and in the postwar period of statesmanship upon which much of Marshall's share of immortality may well be based, are scheduled to appear in the next two years.

Hope for this biography has been high. Tempting as is the subject, no one has approached it previously with any degree of thoroughness, largely because Marshall himself had consistently discouraged all volunteers save Pogue alone. To him in late life the retired general gave abundantly: all his papers both personal and official (many hitherto classified), all his recollections, these last in a 125,000-word taping of private interviews without which no such intimate portrayal of the man would have been possible. Pogue (author of *The Supreme Command* in the official "U. S. Army in World War II" series and a close associate of Marshall in subsequent years) was the one man considered as director of the George C. Marshall Research Center, created and endowed by the general's admirers great and small; in that role, too, Pogue deserves well of historians for the institution at Virginia Military Institute (appropriately) now assures preservation of a great flood of Marshall memorabilia and access to them by other students. In reducing his own extended text to manageable length Pogue has had the editorial assistance of Gordon Harrison, an old colleague in the Army's

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Office of the Chief of Military History and himself a distinguished chronicler of the 1944–1945 campaign in Europe.

The hopes for a searching biography are fulfilled in this first volume, possibly still too detailed for the impatient reader (as might be charged against other multivolume biographies) but certainly not for the student. Detail is essential to Pogue's large purpose of tracing the development of the boy into the youth; then into the young officer with a passion for work and so intense a concentration on the task at hand that he had little time for the amenities; then into the mature professional staff officer ever occupied with duty. Few people ventured to be familiar with him. On the one occasion when President Roosevelt amiably addressed his Chief of Staff as "George" the younger man's response was so chilling that "I don't think he ever did it again. . . . I wasn't very enthusiastic over such a misrepresentation of our intimacy." Indeed, on that same occasion, surrounded by more experienced presidential advisers, the blunt Marshall startled them, as well as Roosevelt, by blurting out his total disagreement with the President's stated judgment; clearly Roosevelt liked him the better for it, although that was not always Roosevelt's way. One war earlier all these same qualities in Lieutenant Colonel Marshall had won the lasting admiration of Pershing who also respected—sometimes—a subordinate who could say "No."

Pogue, by recital of all such events in painstaking sequence and with a high degree of objectivity, presents logically the development of a junior officer through years that were thin in reward, his quality recognized early (in the Philippines) and unmistakably proved in World War I (notably as a battlefield logistics expert conquering great difficulties). These were professional qualities, highly acclaimed in wartime by other professionals but rarely bringing attention from the public in peacetime. The years between wars were years marked by undisguised "antimilitarism" in America, with dwindling appropriations, almost no new weapons, skeletonized divisions, slowed down promotions (urgently recommended for brigadier in World War I, Marshall acquired his first star nineteen years later), and something close to public contempt for the military. Like most of his army companions he was given depressiontime charge of Civilian Conservation Corps work in the vicinity of his post, but to that work Marshall gave his energy, his intelligence, and notably his profound sympathy, with results that inevitably reached Washington's attention. To the rarely grateful task of building up the army reserves, too, and to building better relations with a standoffish civilian community, unrewarding as many a professional soldier would have thought such things, Marshall gave similar attention, and Pogue, possibly for the first time, skillfully points out the part that these activities played in "the education" of this particular general. In a foreword General Omar N. Bradley, who considers Marshall "the man who contributed more to our efforts from 1939 to 1951 than any other individual," finds special interest not only in the new information that Pogue presents on the leaders of World War I and World War II, through Marshall's revealed relations with them, but in the author's new

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material on the between wars events, including the CCC training, the strengthening of good relations with Brazil at a critical time, and always the slow and painful betterment of the army and Marshall's great emphasis on two aspects of it—the development of air power and the creation of interservice teamwork—one day to result in that unified defense establishment for which Marshall was to argue vehemently in 1946.

The annotations are bountiful and explicit, the bibliography of great value to historians, the persuasive rebuttal of widely circulated views of a decade ago most welcome. This well-organized and solidly written volume is good in itself and a welcome herald of the post-1939 volumes dealing with periods of great personal, national, and international controversy.

Baltimore, Maryland MARK S. WATSON

THE CABINET DIARIES OF JOSEPHUS DANIELS, 1913–1921. Edited by *E. David Cronon*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. x, 648. $8.50.)

SECRETARY of the Navy Josephus Daniels' long and trusted service in the Wilson cabinet gives the revelations of his diary importance among the contemporary views of the Wilson administration. As Professor Cronon's title suggests, the Daniels diary accents cabinet deliberations even though the regular Wilson cabinet meetings declined in importance after the President began to question the confidence of certain members of the cabinet, especially Secretary Lane. The affairs, concerning some of the most delicate issues of the time, of the separately held "inner circle" cabinet meetings at which Daniels was often present appear frequently in the diary, which also includes much material not found in similar accounts by others of the Wilson cabinet, including those by Lansing, Lane, McAdoo, Houston, Bryan, and Baker. And, as Daniels was a shrewd political leader and newspaper publisher who enjoyed an unusual social acquaintance, the publication of this excellent edition of his diary is a major contribution to the already large volume of Wilsonian literature. The absence of lost entries for the years 1914 and 1916 is disappointing, but it does not detract from the importance of the work for the remaining six years.

The diary includes many unsatisfying entries, such as mere listings of names and social events apparently of little significance. But, for the most part, Daniels was busy recording his views and the views of many others about such leaders of the day as Bryan, Edison, young Franklin Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes, Baruch, and the President. He also included excellent and extensive commentaries about the prewar Panama Canal tolls fracas, domestic politics during the first great war, the politics and technical difficulties of the preparedness battles before, during, and after the war, and such postwar issues as mandates, reparations, war debts, labor strife, the final disposition of the postwar treaty fight, Wilson-Senate relations, internal strife in the Democratic party, and much more.

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Those who have used the original volumes of this diary will be pleased and amazed at Cronon's masterly effort in deciphering many abbreviations and skillfully unraveling many mysteries created by a large number of almost illegible entries and Daniels' frequent use of sketchy phrases involving strange mixtures of personal matters, political gossip, and nautical affairs of state. This latter feat alone earns high praise for Cronon and reveals his extensive knowledge of Daniels' personal and public affairs. He deserves still more praise for his most discriminating and annotated footnotes (which some might regard as too brief but which otherwise could have become much too voluminous) and the excellent index, which, together, make this work a veritable who's who reference to a most controversial American presidency.

Portland State College MITCHELL WM. KERR

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FREEDOMS: WORLD WAR I AND THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. By *Donald Johnson*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. 1963. Pp. ix, 243. $5.00.)

THIS book deals chiefly with attacks and restrictions by the United States government upon the civil liberties of individuals and groups during the years 1914–1917 in four main areas of trouble: expression of pacifist and antimilitary views, conscientious objection, suspect associations of "alien radicals," and suspect associations of "labor radicals." The author weaves in illuminating accounts of related government policy, the operations of the Justice and Post Office Departments, and the birth, but not quite "the rise," of the ACLU.

Working very largely with archival material, Professor Johnson presents new information on important public figures, at least in their attitudes toward freedom in a democracy under stress. Wilson's own words convict him of vague thinking, a plethora of platitude, and a rather nasty snobbishness about the running of the country: "go and tell Norman Thomas [said the President] that there is such a thing as the indecent exposure of private opinion in public." Burleson, the Postmaster General, declared that no publication could be permitted to "say that this Government got in the war wrong, that it is in it for wrong purposes, or anything that will impugn the motives of the Government for going into war." Palmer himself seems to be less vicious and much stupider than most recent history has him. Johnson, expertly, lets the men speak for themselves, without intruding personal judgments.

Newton D. Baker comes off very well, but even he was unable to escape the predilection of the government coterie to incredible oversimplification. Speaking of a group of twenty-seven conscientious objectors, he found most to be "simple-minded," only two normal, but only one insincere, "lazy and obstinate." A novice teacher in an elementary school in 1964 would guard himself against such ridiculous impromptu comments.

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The method of the book raises a classic question about archival research. Everything here is surely truly quoted, and there is much to ponder on. But would another archives reader find other material, equally "true"—and yielding a different view? It would seem that more indication should be given about noticed contradictory evidence, or about the ratio of the material here selected for notice to the whole archival material on these subjects. We would still be subject to one scholar's guidance, but we would know he had in mind the reader's inescapable innocence.

There are, in the less specialized passages, a number of errors that may or may not have implications for the main account. It is not true that the ACLU has seldom defended the civil liberties of Right-wing minorities: witness the Bunds, Gerald L. K. Smith, the group censorship cases in Illinois, and, currently, Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi. It is not true that the ACLU has a "credo of unlimited free speech"; now, although the US Supreme Court has largely abandoned the "clear and present danger" test, the ACLU stands by that criterion as it has for decades. It is correct to say that J. Edgar Hoover and the Justice Department were involved in wholesale arrests without warrants (in the Red Raid days), but it should also be noted that Justice sent to its field offices thousands of warrants with the name to be filled in. Oddly, the colorful gentleman described on page 10 was not Roger Baldwin's father, but his uncle. (Baldwin, the central figure in this study, informs me that he finds the book fair and useful, but he does not know why the author did not give him the opportunity to read the text before it went to the printer.)

There is one serious error that must be corrected in justice to the many persons concerned. The first sentence of the preface reads: "In 1959 Long Island University fired Associate Professor Edward V. Sittler on the ground that he was a professed Nazi who had worked for Hitler in the Second World War." Actually, the administration of L.I.U. knew about Sittler's past and took an admirable conscious chance on academic rehabilitation. His standing offer of resignation (an unfair thing in itself, but not a dismissal) was taken up ostensibly because it was deemed that Sittler had not revealed the whole truth at the time of appointment.

This is a useful study that moves most of the way from the pedestrian quality of the usual dissertation to the form and style of a true book. However, if the author had sought, or been given, a larger measure of editorial guidance, the clarity of the discourse might have been greater. And someone's advice should have saved a study that is very particular in scope and period from a preposterously ambitious title.

Washington, D. C. LOUIS JOUGHIN

SOLDIERS AND SPRUCE: ORIGINS OF THE LOYAL LEGION OF LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN. By *Harold M. Hyman*. [Industrial Relations

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Monographs of the Institute of Industrial Relations, Number 10.] (Los Angeles: the Institute, University of California. 1963. Pp. viii, 341. $3.00.)

DURING wars, when faced with industrial or agricultural manpower problems, Americans often suggest the use of the army. Put soldiers to work in factory, farm, or forest; draft those who do not take essential jobs; or place a military man in charge, and he will get things done. Professor Harold M. Hyman gives us a thorough study of the most important attempt during World War I to solve a civilian manpower problem through the use of the military in the Pacific Northwest lumber forests.

Spruce, so needed for aircraft production, had been slow in coming to the factories. The lumberjacks, "homeless, womanless, voteless," as had lumberjacks elsewhere, sought to solve their problems by moving toward the Left—in America, into the Industrial Workers of the World, or the Wobblies. In 1917, the Wobblies started a bitter strike in the lumber fields, and when that failed, returned to work and instead launched a "strike on the job." Slowdowns and sabotage became the techniques used.

Into this situation stepped the newly created Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, a quasi union run by army personnel and headed by Colonel Brice P. Disque. By the use of primary sources that had not before been available to scholars, Hyman destroys certain myths: that the lumbermen (or some army bureau) were the inspiration for the Legion (he shows that it stemmed from the desire of people like the labor economist, Carleton H. Parker, and later, Disque, for a progressive agency that would eliminate the causes that had helped the Wobblies succeed), and that the Legion was a tool of the lumbermen (Hyman notes the acts that the Legion took to help the workers). The author also explains why the military became so involved in the production of spruce. He describes in fascinating detail the eventual break, first, between Disque and Parker, and, then, between Disque and Samuel Gompers, and what effects these changed relationships had upon the role of the Legion, particularly when the war ended, and the Legion, despite earlier plans, did not.

Hyman terminates his study around the time of the signing of the armistice and concludes that the Legion "should have died then." But should it have been born in the first place? Hyman points out that the military men who had run the Legion "were too unskilled, shallow and rigid for the task they undertook." Their main qualification apparently was that they wore uniforms; this indeed was also their main disqualification. The use of the military to solve civilian manpower problems is attractive because of the army's power during wartime, but it is this power and its use by officers who are "unskilled, shallow and rigid," and often antilabor, that make it so dangerous: first, because it can be ineffective (this was not as true in the lumber case during World War I as at other times); second, because of the possible impact on both the civil rights of the workers who differ

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from the military and on the union movement (both the AFL and the Wobblies felt this impact as did individual workers).

In telling this story, Hyman has made a valuable contribution to labor history. Those of us who work in this field are thankful that the author paused in his studies of the Civil War and of American constitutional development to study an area which, unfortunately, too many historians have left only to the economists.

Michigan State University ALBERT A. BLUM

FRANK B. KELLOGG—HENRY L. STIMSON. By *Robert H. Ferrell.* [The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, Volume XI.] (New York: Cooper Square Publishers. 1963. Pp. ix, 360. $7.50.)

THIS is the first of six volumes that will be added to the famous ten-volume series called "The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, 1776–1925." The planned additions will bring this biographical account of our international relations down to the year 1961. Some satisfying continuities have already been established between the old venture and this new enterprise. Samuel Flagg Bemis, the moving and guiding spirit in the first instance, has become the advisory editor in this new endeavor for which one of his most distinguished students, Robert H. Ferrell, has assumed primary responsibility. Julius Pratt, who earlier wrote the life of Robert Lansing, will this time contribute the important study of Cordell Hull. And finally, as the book at hand indicates, the impressive physical properties supplied for the original volumes by Alfred Knopf will be maintained by the present publishers.

This first addition, the work of the present editor, suggests that the high intellectual quality of its predecessors will also be continued. Ferrell deals with Frank B. Kellogg and Henry L. Stimson and with our foreign policy in the years from 1925 to 1933. It is a passage in our history that the author, by virtue of his earlier labors, is well equipped to handle. It is also, as he well knows, one of the most depressing periods in all American diplomacy. In the prolonged record of decay both of strength and spirit, both here and abroad, there are only a few relieving moments, and these are not so much of achievement as of unsupported hopes. Fortunately for the successful execution of his forbidding task Ferrell adds to his knowledge useful gifts of clarity and sympathy.

It is probable that Kellogg, his first subject, will never be remembered as one of our more distinguished Secretaries of State. An able lawyer, an enlightened senator, it was his fate to spend much of his time as Secretary in negotiation with a disintegrating China and in trying to deal with the continuous disequilibriums of South America. The condition of Europe offered little more opportunity for constructive American statesmanship, but in this unpromising situation Kellogg did succeed in bringing off a gesture that has given him a measure of fame. What had begun as a rather unimaginative response to a rather conventional French overture was turned into the Pact of Paris. Ferrell makes no claim, in his inter-

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esting account of these negotiations, that the agreement was a useful work of diplomacy, although he does suggest that our present generation, in view of the history of the past twenty-five years, might look more kindly on the Secretary's intent. And he does nicely follow the stages by which Kellogg himself went from initial skepticism to a final conviction of the importance of his work.

Henry L. Stimson gives a historian more to think about than does his immediate predecessor. The London Naval Conference, the war debts, the problem of disarmament, and, especially, Manchuria, all provide interesting problems that engaged the attention of the Secretary. Ferrell works his way through these complex situations with great skill and eminently good sense. Yet for all his understanding and sympathy he is forced to conclude that by the end of Stimson's term of office, after all his high endeavors, the influence of American policy was "reduced to zero."

It is, in a way, a judgment to be set on all the years dealt with in this book. Good men, able men, hard-working men serving as Secretaries of State from 1925 to 1933 were prevented, whatever their intentions, from producing useful results by the mounting economic, political, and moral confusions, both at home and abroad, within which they had to pursue their ends. But both men can count themselves fortunate that their efforts are here assessed by a historian so well equipped with knowledge and sympathy.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology ELTING E. MORISON

FORD: DECLINE AND REBIRTH, 1933–1962. By *Allan Nevins* and *Frank Ernest Hill*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1963. Pp. xviii, 508. $8.95.)

THERE are few surprises in this history. Since it is the third and concluding volume on the Ford empire, some of the material has necessarily been anticipated; some of the treatment conforms to hitherto tested formulas. Thus the reader is conscious that Volume II relied heavily on the *mystique* of the Rouge, while this volume is similarly based on the *mystique* of Willow Run. For another thing, the period 1933–1962 is largely current history. Since the news value of Henry and his enterprises has always been high, reporters and authors of news stories, for instance in the Luce publications, have already kept Americans well informed about the struggle to unionize the Ford plants and the "battle of the underpass," about Willow Run and the prodigies of war production, about OPA and Ford's legitimate hostility to its rulings. Again observers of the American scene have justly been disturbed by the tendency of American life to seek instinctively the pattern of the grade *B* movie or the soap opera. Many features of Ford development make such a formula inescapable. The cast of characters is made to order. There is the old patriarch stumbling blindly about in a world he never made, childish, slightly paranoid, striking out against those he should have loved best, wasting money on hobbies, occasionally illuminated by a fitful gleam of the old genius. The ownership of considerable blocks of stock by Clara and Mrs.

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Edsel Ford provides another conventional interest. There is the struggle for power between the younger men: Sorenson, the engineering genius, and the sinister but competent Harry Bennett who crushed unions, protected the Fords against the underworld, and ingratiated himself with the "Old one." Finally there are the remorseless competitors: General Motors and Chrysler. Will Ford catch up with General Motors? Will mother and wife save the Ford Motor Company for their children? Read on.

That life was this way is not Nevins' fault. He has, however, written so frequently on public issues and their historical background that his scheme of values is well known. He is, for instance, for freer trade, international organization, "responsible" unionism; he is against overgrown government bureaucracy. His pleasure at finding that Henry II fits this procrustean bed without injury is understandable. I do not mean to imply that the authors separate history into the good guys and the bad guys. They are, for instance, surprisingly charitable not only to Henry Ford but to Harry Bennett. Often, however, the application of favorable or even unfavorable terms to persons becomes a substitute for more penetrating analysis. The discussion of the Ford Foundation, for instance, frequently expresses reservations about its leadership, but, even without accepting the inanities of B. Carroll Reece, it misses an opportunity to explore some of the deeper questions involved in the foundation's procedures, objectives, and very existence. Here, as elsewhere, there is the tendency to bring up a name and bestow a pat on the back.

Even though this is not one of Nevins' more successful business biographies, students of business history and analysts of its forms should not neglect its contribution. The nostalgia for the individualist organization of business dies hard among Americans, even thoughtful ones. The individualism of the Ford enterprise degenerated into bedlam with high executives throwing punches at each other, and into despotism, with bosses kicking newspapers out of the hands of employees. The change to Henry II was more than a shift of personalities within a family; the Ford empire put on the armor of genuine corporate organization. The economic merits of the corporation have often been celebrated. Perhaps it is time to explore the possibility that as a social and political force it is a genuine contribution to American democratic ways. For such an exploration this third volume of Nevins and Hill clears the way.

Thetford, Vermont EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

THE PRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY. By *Bernard C. Cohen.* [The Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 288. $6.00.)

IN the wake of lingering controversy over the "managed news" of the brief Kennedy administration, this monograph emerges as a timely study of an

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important question. The motivations of the author and his research techniques reflect the behavioral approach to political science. True to the postulates of this school, Professor Cohen has attempted to isolate the empirical propositions and the systematic theories that govern "the mechanisms that intervene between the press and American foreign policy." He correctly assumes the necessity of a proper understanding between the decision makers and the press at a time when this interchange bears strong influence upon the course of modern diplomacy.

The project originated a decade ago in a Princeton research seminar. Its primary source material is culled from numerous interviews with many government officials and newspapermen primarily concerned with policy making and the public dissemination of matters related to American foreign affairs. These behavioral findings are enriched by a synthesis with the observations and insights taken from conventional secondary accounts on the subject.

Owing to the lapse of time between the initial and the subsequent gathering of interview data (1953–1954; 1958; 1960) the revelations are sporadic in nature, for most of the illustrative material is drawn from the opening and closing years of the Eisenhower era. Prior to publication, however, certain aspects of the 1962 Russo-American confrontation over Cuba were woven into the text and annotations. The book lacks a formal bibliography.

Readers of this journal who use the book will question its neglect of chronology. They will also wonder if the mechanisms identified operated uniformly under different Presidents, Secretaries of State, and news-gathering personnel. Certainly it is safe to assume that Cohen's deductions could not be applied to epochs of American diplomacy where less sensitized media of mass communications dominated.

In the fashion of students of political behavior, the writer has wasted too much print on proving the obvious. Men of common sense realize, in the absence of "empirical" proof, that informed reporters on foreign affairs feel the necessity of traveling abroad. Neither will they be surprised to learn that syndicated columnists receive favored treatment in official Washington circles nor that the New York *Times* is "everyone's Bible of information." Why labor so hard to establish the well-known fact that the State Department sometimes purposely "leaks" information to prestige metropolitan dailies or that elected congressmen are more considerate of press hawks than appointed diplomatic careerists? Nevertheless, a behaviorist would contend that even the evident must be scientifically confirmed.

Be that as it may, some of the book's conclusions will interest conventionally-minded scholars. Even in the heyday of postwar American foreign aid, the diffidence of general readers to overseas news forecasts the present recoil against such generosity. We welcome a detailed account of the process by which tidbits of information on outside events become headline news and stirring editorials. It is here apparent that all agencies of the federal government, in the fashion of big business, cultivate the art of public relations. Guild historians who comb

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newspaper columns for a well-rounded sample of public opinion will benefit from some shrewd insights on a comparison between the ways in which various elements of the national press react to foreign policy issues. Unlike the pioneer political behaviorists who refrained from suggestions for amelioration of present conditions, the author offers stimulating advice for minimizing the costs of the never-ending conflict between the claims of an open society and the necessity of a secret diplomacy. In all probability, the author meant these hints to be regarded as wishes rather than as heartfelt hopes.

State University of New York at Buffalo SELIG ADLER

CANADA–UNITED STATES TREATY RELATIONS. By *Robert R. Wilson et al.* Edited by *David R. Deener.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publication Number 19.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1963. Pp. xiv, 250. $7.50.)

THE latest volume in the "Duke University Commonwealth-Studies" series, and the fifth concerned with Canada, is the outcome of a four-day conference in 1961, attended by historians, jurists, officials, and political scientists, where papers were read and discussed in three "problem areas": boundary waters, defense, and economic relations. The eleven contributors are drawn from all parts of the United States and Canada and include two judges, past and present, of the International Court of Justice, Messrs. Hackworth and Read, two well-known military historians, Ropp and Stacey, and others equally well qualified in their respective disciplines. Although there is a certain degree of overlapping, particularly in the legal papers, the range is wide, from an analysis of the problems involved in the exploitation of such resources as metals, oil, and natural gas, to a case study of the Cuban affair as affecting Canadian-United States commercial relations and international law. The editor has contributed a most useful list of Canada-United States treaties and agreements, 1782–1960, and the volume is admirably rounded off by a bibliographical note.

The authors have avoided the easy descent into clichés about the undefended border and the necessity for other countries to follow the worthy example of Canada and the United States in learning how to live together, which used to form the substance of the great Canadian speech that bored delegates to League of Nations Assemblies in Geneva. However, they have not escaped another error of self-importance about the two countries' position in North America. Thus, there are references to Canada and the United States as being "joint occupiers of a single continent," which will be news to Texans and Mexicans, and to "the common management of a continent." There are some interesting suggestions for the improvement of legal machinery, such as endorsement of Judge Jessup's proposal that a permanent international commission be established to hear claims of the nationals of one country against the federal government of the other, or Judge Read's advocacy of an adjustment of the machinery of the International

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Court of Justice "to provide for something comparable, on the international plane, to the system of itinerant justices established in England eight hundred years ago."

Some of the obiter dicta of the participants may come as a surprise to readers of this symposium. Thus, Ropp dismisses the contributions of the Canadian Army and Air Force to NATO as "historical relics" and further regards them as "a moral commitment which happened to be in line with Quebec's anti-Communist tradition." In Stacey's excellent paper on "Twenty-One Years of Canadian-American Military Co-operation" he voices a familiar but salutary Canadian reminder that "Americans in general are as little interested in Canadian-American relations as Harry Hopkins was and they will forget she even exists unless she keeps reminding them."

This volume is certain to be widely used in Canada. It is to be hoped that it will attract reasonable attention in the United States.

University of British Columbia F. H. Soward

THE VICEREGENCY OF ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI IN NEW SPAIN, 1771–1779. By *Bernard E. Bobb.* [The Texas Pan-American Series.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1962. Pp. 313. $5.00.)

An author performs a nice courtesy when he tells his readers why he conceived his book to be worth writing. Dr. Bobb is explicit on this point: "It is somewhat surprising that so few studies have been published of individual viceroys who served the Spanish Crown in the New World, for the viceroy was, generally, a powerful figure whose competence, methods, attitudes, and character were of vital importance to millions of people, as well as to the status and progress of the Spanish empire. This investigation of Bucareli, who governed a key area in a significant time, has seemed to me, therefore, to be a worthwhile undertaking."

As the title suggests, this is a study of a viceregal government rather than a biography. Most of the book deals with Bucareli's administration of the various branches or departments of government, that is, *patronato real,* captaincy general, treasury, and general administration, as well as with specific problems that he encountered during his viceregency. These included the *vida común* controversy, the defense and pacification of the Interior Provinces, the colonization of California, and the resuscitation of the Mexican mining industry. The first chapter, "The Man and the Setting," and the last, "The Man and the Office," are devoted to an evaluation of Bucareli as a person and as an administrator, and of his specific achievements in relation to the general development of administration under the late Bourbons. Bobb sees Bucareli as a man of conservative temperament with little inclination toward exercising initiative. He possessed, however, a tremendous capacity for hard work and exercised it in a job that he did not like. His temperament and his military experience inclined him to follow orders explicitly and without deviation. He was a highly capable administrator, a talent

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that was particularly evident in his sound management of the royal treasury and in the combination of tact and hardheadedness that he displayed in dealing with such controversial issues as the above-mentioned *vida común* dispute. Bobb sees Bucareli's particular combination of temperament and abilities as well suited to the period and particular problems of his viceregency: "Not a planner or a visualizer in terms of broad points of view, he was, instead, an efficiency expert with a splendid capacity for internal diplomacy. By exercising these talents from his executive position for a period of seven and a half years, he softened the harsh nature of some of Gálvez' measures and, by placating those who were prone to resent certain aspects of the new order, secured a general acceptance of the change without sacrificing many of its essential elements."

This is a first-rate book. It is soundly based on documentation from the *Archivo General de México* and the *Archivo General de Indias*. It is well balanced and well organized; Bobb writes not only smoothly, but with a bit of dash. He also manages to avoid an emotional commitment to the man about whom he is writing. Bucareli's achievements are evaluated moderately and his failures acknowledged. Indeed, Bobb does a bit of debunking by attacking the interpretation of Professor Chapman and others who assigned to this viceroy almost heroic credit for his role in the settlement of California. Bobb concludes that Bucareli was merely carrying out in a routine fashion the plans and proposals developed by Gálvez during his visitation in New Spain.

University of Florida L. N. McAlister

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

BOOKS

General

THE HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHY: PAPERS BY J. N. L. BAKER. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. xxviii, 266. $7.50.) As an expression of appreciation and affection on the occasion of J. N. L. Baker's retirement from Jesus College, Oxford, his former pupils brought together and published eighteen of his papers. The three of these previously unpublished were "The History of Geography in Oxford," "Major James Rennell and His Place in the History of Geography," and "Mythical Lands in History." The title could mislead without the subtitle. It does not pretend to cover, even in abbreviated form, the history of geography, although the papers illuminate some aspects of that history. Baker was thoroughly steeped in the history of geography in England and wrote principally about it and its continental antecedents. He was especially interested in the history of historical geography in England. This is made a useful source by his appreciation of the roles of Englishmen whose contributions to geography, or whose use of geography, as in the case of Defoe, Charles Lamb, and others, had not been adequately known. The style is straightforward and uncomplicated. The documentation is restricted to British sources to a greater extent than the subject would seem to require. It is perfectly obvious that Baker had a great impact on his students. It also appears that what Baker thought about the history of geography in England had much to do with what others thought about it, and perhaps the most useful aspect of the book is the understanding that one gets of the man and his role from the collection of his works on the roles of others.

Washington, D. C. MEREDITH F. BURRILL

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSERVATION OF ENERGY. By *Erwin N. Hiebert.* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1962. Pp. 118. $3.50.) The principle of conservation of energy is usually considered to be one of the major discoveries of nineteenth-century physical science and is often cited as an example of multiple independent or simultaneous discovery since there are three claimants: Helmholtz, Mayer, and Joule. In the 1840's, it was shown experimentally that there is a constant relationship between the motion of bodies and the heat produced by this motion, or that whenever mechanical work is done a definite quantity of heat will appear. The "heat" and "work" were considered to be two different manifestations of a general class called "energy," and the invariance between heat and work was generalized into a principle of conservation. Clearly, this principle is related to the performance of heat engines, like steam engines, and is not an unnatural by-product of the engineering problems of the nineteenth century. In the book before us, however, Professor Hiebert does not treat the principle in its final nineteenth-century appearance, save by implication. He is concerned with the earlier possible historical antecedents of the modern concept of energy, beginning in Greek times and concluding somewhere in the eighteenth century. Drawing together the fruits of much recent research on the history of the

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exact sciences in the Middle Ages and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Hiebert has successfully and happily traced the ideas of energy, and protoexplanations of conservation, by dealing with three major concepts: virtual work, quantity of motion, and the forces of inelastic collision. Writing for those who have had some initiation into physics, Hiebert has made a most significant contribution to the history of scientific ideas. Although the treatment of Newton is all too brief and leaves much to be desired, and the volume is not as free of misprints as it might have been, Hiebert's book successfully shows the way in which careful historical insights may be gained from exploring the origins of modern scientific concepts in the primary documents of earlier periods.

Harvard University I. Bernard Cohen

NATION-BUILDING. Edited by *Karl W. Deutsch* and *William J. Foltz.* [The American Political Science Association Series.] (New York: Atherton Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 167. $4.50.) This book, eight essays by eight authors, develops discussions begun in a session of the American Political Science Association in 1962. It particularly considers problems faced by the new nations as they attempt to become viable. "Nation-building," according to Professor Deutsch, "suggests an architectural or mechanical model," and carries an implication different from "national growth," an "organismic image," and "national development," a combinational concept. It is true that in Africa and Asia the state is playing and probably will play a larger role in the formation of most of the new nations than it played in Europe where cultural unities were more significant. The book does not, however, answer questions the jacket blurb claims it will: "What is a nation?" and "What does the rise of new nations mean to international stability?" It does discuss new nation building in Africa and the Americas and revolutionary war in Asia; two chapters directly offer suggestive historical parallels from late medieval Europe and the eighteenth-century American colonies. Readers may be unable to fathom the meaning of the essay on "Nation and Personality Structure." Parts of several of the essays, and all of the one just mentioned, are so highly abstract that they seem obscure or mere restatement of truisms. Being a historian, I need more concrete examples and supporting data than are generally offered. These strictures do not apply to the informative papers by Strayer, Merritt, and Emerson on early nation building in Europe and North America and on contemporary building in Africa. These three papers, all based on extensive previous research, well summarize what is known. The way of the new states will be difficult. As current events reveal, they face "coups, conquests, revolutions" (Strayer). At this juncture scholars are rightly cautious, but the questions here posed could have been sharpened and deepened. To quote Deutsch again, the book will not be "finished until much more is known about the complexities of the topic." And it may be added, until students of contemporary affairs give more attention to the history of nationalism. Most of the essays remain what most of them were originally, papers delivered at a session of a learned society; they have not been shaped into a unified book.

Macalester College Boyd C. Shafer

Ancient and Medieval

THE SAXON AND NORMAN KINGS. By *Christopher Brooke.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. 232. $6.95.) Professor Brooke here turns his considerable scholarly and stylistic talents to the task of high popularization. Unlike his recent textbook, *From Alfred to Henry III,* this present work is in no sense a chronological

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summary of the period. To be sure, it includes the most compact sketch of English history from A.D. 400 to 1054 that I have ever encountered (in less than three pages!), but the over-all emphasis is on historical problems rather than the sequence of events. Brooke has given us a "biography" of the institution of Anglo-Saxon and Norman kingship, written for the intelligent layman rather than the specialist. It is sound and up to date, entirely free of the anachronistic preconceptions of Whig and Victorian scholars, abreast of modern techniques in archaeology, aerial photography, and documentary analysis, yet it is at the same time entertaining, anecdotal, and informal in style. (Alfred and the cakes turn up right on schedule.) The historical problems that Brooke deals with in this book are not metaphysical dilemmas or fundamental issues of historical causation. Rather, they are problems of historical detection: Was William Rufus' death, as Margaret Murray has proposed, a grisly, sacrificial rite connected with the liturgy of devil worship? Or was it perhaps a product of some murderous scheme on the part of his brother, Henry I? Was Ethelred really as incapable as most historians have made him out to be? Was Edward the Confessor's wife, Edith, actually a virgin? Unlike Conan Doyle and G. K. Chesterton, Brooke refrains from providing neat solutions to all his mysteries—he is much too good a historian to do so—yet "the detective element in history" (as Brooke calls it) pervades and enlivens the book. The reader is made constantly aware of the frustrating problem of inadequate evidence (or clues), and the ingenuity required to draw and weigh every legitimate inference from such evidence as we possess. William the Conqueror, for example, remains for the most part a two-dimensional figure, inhuman and remote. In an effort to peer "a little behind the screen," the author translates for us a brief description of the Conqueror by a contemporary monk of Caen: "He was large in build and strong. . . . He was so abstemious in taking wine or anything else that he rarely had more than three drinks after dinner. . . . He attended to the exercise of Christian religion . . . etc." Brooke might have been even more pessimistic about the possibilities of penetrating the screen had he realized that the entire passage that he translated was appropriated by the monk of Caen almost verbatim from Einhard's life of Charlemagne, and that the "three drinks at dinner" allusion was taken by Einhard himself from Suetonius' life of Augustus. But scholarly slips such as this are relatively uncommon in Brooke's admirable study. American scholars would do well to examine this keen-witted, enthusiastic, vivid book. For it is with works of this sort that historians may one day recapture the allegiance of educated laymen from the beguiling arts of the historical novelists.

University of California, Santa Barbara C. Warren Hollister

LE TEMPOREL DE L'ABBAYE DE SAINT-AMAND DES ORIGINES À 1340. By *Henri Platelle*. [Bibliothèque Elzévirienne. New Series, Études et documents.] (Paris: Librairie d'Argences. 1962. Pp. 350.) Not long before 639, St. Amand, bishop of Tongres, founded a monastery at the confluence of the Scarpe and Elnon Rivers in what is now French Flanders. Bearing its founder's name and richly endowed with lands by the Merovingian King Dagobert, the abbey quickly became and remained one of the region's most important centers of Benedictine life. Henri Platelle here attempts to reconstruct the history of the abbey's landed endowment: where it lay, how it was acquired, and how it was administered. His way is strewn with difficulties. St. Amand's archives were largely destroyed during the French Revolution. In spite of diligent research, Platelle has found only few and scattered documents upon which to base his conclusions. He discerns, however, that the abbey's lands grew enormously in the Merovingian and Carolingian ages. In the subsequent chaos of the tenth century, the monastic properties were widely seized or pillaged by powerful and unruly lay

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neighbors. The eleventh century brought revival. Energetic abbots reconstituted and reorganized the endowment and initiated a period of prosperity that lasted until the late thirteenth century. By then, a fundamental change had also occurred in the administration of the monastic lands. Direct cultivation was abandoned, and the demesne was leased to free tenants. Although economic difficulties were already evident by 1270, the major blow to the monastery's prosperity was the destruction caused in the opening campaigns of the Hundred Years' War. The abbey was itself sacked by the Count of Hainaut in 1340. The history of the lands of St. Amand, as Platelle reconstructs it, seems to differ hardly at all from that of many neighboring monasteries in northern France and the Low Countries. The value of this book is the further support and illustration it provides to already familiar chapters of Flemish and French monastic history.

Bryn Mawr College DAVID HERLIHY

CHRISTIANITY IN GREAT-MORAVIA. By *Zdeněk R. Dittrich.* [Bijdragen van het Instituut voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 33.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1962. Pp. 316.) This book retells the story of how Christianity came to the Moravian Empire, whose central characters were the brothers Constantine (or Cyril) and Methodius. The importance of the background (slighted by too many) of Irish and especially Frankish mission work is explored. This puts in more credible context the appeal of King Rotislav "to New Rome in 862." The mission of the famous brothers is seen against the backdrop of a paganism only slowly modified by Western Christianity. Their greater success came from creating the Old Church Slavonic for use in liturgy and from a better attitude toward pagans as human beings. A chapter is devoted to Methodius as archbishop of Sirmium. Much is made of Frankish intrigues against him, against which Methodius reacted by becoming "narrowly orthodox," more Byzantine than ecumenical. With his death (885) a remarkable era came to a close: "filioque" was in process of becoming a shibboleth dividing Christendom, and the papacy was entering upon its "iron age." For the retelling of this history, the author says he examined all extant sources in the light of more or less recent historical method. This "light" comes from "archaeology, the sociology of religion, ethnology, and philology. . . . [and from] introducing new questions to bring into the open what was usually only unconsciously known." His sobriety, his effort at objectivity, but above all his sense of the importance of keeping his eyes on events in their total context and his imaginative reconstructions make this a noteworthy study.

University of Oregon QUIRINUS BREEN

DER GETREIDEHANDEL LIVLANDS IM MITTELALTER. By *Jorma Ahvenainen.* [Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Volume XXXIV, Number 2.] (Helsinki: the Societas. 1963. Pp. 253. 12.60 M.) This monograph on the grain trade of Livonia covers the period between the thirteenth and eighteenth century, though the Middle Ages for Livonia, according to the author, ended in 1558. Sources for the study after 1558 are plentiful in the tax accounts of the Sound, but scarce and scattered for the earlier period. The author has used political and commercial materials in the municipal archives of Reval, Riga, and Göttingen and in the national archives of Sweden and Denmark. The sparseness of sources prohibits a continuous and statistical analysis, but the author nevertheless gives the first account of the Livonian grain trade, which frequently seems lost in the comments on other trade. Climate, soil, and the three-field system combined to produce an average 200–250 per cent crop in rye, barley, oats, and wheat on the Livonian lands of the Teutonic

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Knights, independent feudal barons, monasteries, and small peasants. All great landowners demanded taxes in grain that rose from an original tenth of the harvest to a fourth, even a third. At Reval and Riga, Hanseatic, Dutch, Flemish, and fewer Livonian merchants exchanged or sold gold, silver, copper, iron, pelts, leather, butter, fish, textiles, and especially salt for the Livonian grains, especially rye, which they shipped to nearby Finland, Sweden, Germany, and the more distant Lowlands. The author has a very enlightening section on the competition among landowners and Livonian and foreign merchants in the transportation of the grain to the city warehouses. From Dorpat, sleds carried the grain to Russia. From Lübeck and Amsterdam, it was often transported to Norway, England, Spain, and Portugal. The demand for the grain depended upon military operations and crop failures in Western Europe, but its exportation was very high in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; profits for the great merchants averaged 12 per cent.

University of Cincinnati HILMAR C. KRUEGER

ENGLAND'S EXPORT TRADE, 1275–1547. By *E. M. Carus-Wilson* and *Olive Coleman*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 207. $10.10.) England was a free-trading land until A.D. 1275 when Edward I, home from a crusade laden with debts, the spoils of war, levied an export duty of *6s.8d.* a sack on wool. This must rank as one of the most successful taxes in English history. In 1280–1281, to take an early year, 25,727 sacks were exported on which the revenue in pounds (we have only to divide by three) was over 8,500, more than the hereditary revenue of the crown. It required the wool of 2,000,000 sheep to fill these sacks at 260 fleeces to the 364-pound sack. England could produce this without half trying. It was an interest of the peasant with his 20 sheep as well as of the magnate with 20,000. The first general tax on the export of cloth came in 1347, and the rate was 2 to 3 per cent ad valorem for native-born merchants and twice that for aliens. There were fifteen "head ports" through which wool and cloth might be lawfully exported, from Newcastle right around to Bristol. Boston, London, and Southampton were the chief ports for wool, with Boston well in the lead for half a century; for cloth it was London, and then Southampton and Bristol. The records of English customs to 1547, when the break came, are amazingly complete. And they have become well known, through the work of Schanz (in 1881), Gray, Gras, Eileen Power, and Professor Postan. Miss Carus-Wilson also has made important contributions to this field of study. But previous studies have left many gaps, and are widely dispersed. Here for the first time the whole of the record is encompassed in a single volume, tabulated year by year, and port by port. Numerous graphs are supplied that can be read at a glance. The volume is convenient to handle and easy on the eyes. To the charge that medieval smuggling made their statistics worthless the authors make an elaborate and convincing reply.

Boston University W. O. AULT

UN CONSEILLER DE PHILIPPE LE BEL: ENGUERRAN DE MARIGNY. By *Jean Favier*. [Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, Number 16.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. xxiv, 256. 20 fr.) Of all the important ministers of Philip the Fair, we have known Enguerran de Marigny least. We shall know him better, thanks to this excellent book, but perhaps never as well as Flote and Nogaret. For Marigny was not a man of speeches and manifestoes; as a financier and as a diplomat he shunned publicity. Even the surprisingly large amount of new evidence that M. Favier has discovered does not fully explain Marigny's motives and policies, especially in the latter part of his career. For the earlier years, however, the work is definitive. Origins, family, the accumulation of a

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great block of estates, the slow rise to power are all admirably described. Favier quite rightly warns us against exaggerating Marigny's influence in his early years as chamberlain; he was only beginning to be a power in 1311, and he did not reach the peak of his authority until 1313. Favier is also convincing in his characterization of Marigny as a man with more sense of the possible than most of his contemporaries. He wanted to avoid the financial recklessness that had almost exhausted the King's resources and the political recklessness that preferred war to negotiation. Unfortunately the man with the least sense of what was possible was Charles of Valois. He resented having to learn prudence from an upstart, and he caused Marigny's downfall after the King's death. Perhaps Favier exaggerates Marigny's power in the last years of the reign. Philip never entrusted all his business or even all of any one kind of business to one man. Favier realizes that this was true in diplomacy (though he gives Marigny too much credit for solving the question of the charges against Boniface VIII); it was true also in finance in spite of Marigny's extensive powers in that area. But it is difficult to write a biography without magnifying the role of the hero, and, even if he has committed this venial sin, Favier has still given us the best book on the period of Philip the Fair that has appeared for many years.

Princeton University JOSEPH R. STRAYER

PETRARCH AND HIS WORLD. By *Morris Bishop.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1963. Pp. 399. $7.50.) This book by a well-known biographer, poet, and professor of romance languages is a pleasant and readable popularization. The author devotes particular attention to Petrarch's emotions and private passions and to the role of Laura in his life and writings. In his concluding chapter Professor Bishop writes: "Many have tried to find in Petrarch a keystone quality for Wilkins, it is love; for Bartoli, *irrequietezza,* restlessness, inconsistency, insecurity; for Bosco, 'lability,' the sense of mortality, of slipping time; for Nolhac, the cult of fame. To Henry Cochin, his life was a long sublime mirage, a dolorous struggle, with perpetual recommencements and perpetual failures. If I must choose, I would say that the mark of his character is introspection, self-analysis, an absorbed contemplation of his own spirit and behavior." The statement of purpose in the preface should not be ignored: "This book is intended for those who may have some interest in Petrarch, but little, presumably, in the quarrels of critics and interpreters." This desire to avoid quarrels at times leads Bishop to present interpretations at variance with those of other authorities without clearly indicating such divergence. His intended readers may not always have the scholarly training and knowledge to recognize these divergences or to judge the cases for themselves. Although a useful volume for the educated nonspecialist, this does not replace Ernest H. Wilkins' *Life of Petrarch* (1961).

University of Nebraska WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

STIRLINGSHIRE: AN INVENTORY OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS. In two volumes. By the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. ([London:] H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. xxxix, 269, 115 plates; xiv, 273–487, 116–230 plates. $50.40 the set, postpaid.) This survey of the ancient and historical monuments of Stirlingshire indicates not only the importance of the county that stands as a gateway between the

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Scottish Highlands and Lowlands, but also the care with which the Royal Commission has made its study. Endeavoring to provide a complete picture, it has dealt with practically every building in the shire that has any possible historical significance. Its special achievement, however, is its detailed description and analysis of the buildings of the burgh of Stirling, and particularly of Stirling Castle which has received in this work its most exhaustive analysis to date. The two volumes provide over 170 plans and 230 plates, covering everything from prehistoric cairns to nineteenth-century buildings; a detailed index enables one to find one's way through the mass of material without too much difficulty. Although on occasion one might perhaps cavil at some of the interpretations presented in the extensive introduction or in the reconstructions suggested, objections would affect only minor details. The work as a whole, however, is so thorough and so exact that it will for long remain an important source not merely for the history of Scottish architecture but for the history of Scotland itself, since the historical monuments of Stirlingshire illustrate in a microcosmic manner the story of the nation as a whole.

McGill University W. S. Reid

A HISTORY OF THE SALTERS' COMPANY. By *J. Steven Watson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. 161. $4.80.) Medieval salters of London obtained their salt from the English coastal salt pans, the Biscay lagoons, and the coast of France south of La Rochelle. The center of their trade was on Bread Street where their fraternity, the Guild of Corpus Christi, began at All Hallows some time before 1349, the year of the Black Death. From this guild, anchored to the Church, grew the Salters' Company, whose traditional place is ninth among the twelve great livery companies of London. In this excellent book, written chiefly from contemporary sources, J. Steven Watson has told the story of the Salters' Company from its origin to 1963. The chapter headings suggest the contents: "Origins"; "Development of the Incorporated Livery Company, 1454–1605"; "Struggle to Retain Independence, 1603–1714"; "From Anne to Elizabeth II." Of special interest are the reports of the arbitrary attacks of Stuart monarchs upon the proudly autonomous Salters' Company; the passages about John Wilkes and the Salters; the descriptions of the rules, social life, and traditions of the craft and the ways in which members of the Salters' Company performed so many public functions and provided so much unofficial energy for good causes.

Wayne State University Goldwin Smith

THE WRITINGS OF HENRY BARROW, 1587–1590. Edited by *Leland H. Carlson*. [Sir Halley Stewart Trust Publications. Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts, Volume III.] (London: George Allen and Unwin for the Trust. 1962. Pp. xi, 680. £4 4*s*.) THE WRITINGS OF JOHN GREENWOOD, 1587–1590, TOGETHER WITH THE JOINT WRITINGS OF HENRY BARROW AND JOHN GREENWOOD, 1587–1590. Edited by *Leland H. Carlson*. [Sir Halley Stewart Trust Publications. Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts, Volume IV.] (London: George Allen and Unwin for the Trust. 1962. Pp. 344. £3 3*s*.) These are the third and fourth volumes in the series that began with *Cartwrightiana* in 1951. Originally, Volume IV was to have contained all the writings of Barrow and Greenwood, but now their writings from 1591 until their martyrdoms in 1593 will form Volume V. Hopefully the works of John Penry and *A Parte of a Register* will follow in later volumes as originally planned. Every student of English Puritanism is indebted to the late Albert Peel and to Leland H. Carlson for the truly monumental researches and editorial labors that have resulted in this splendid series of texts of early English Nonconformist writings.

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The casual student has had no access to many of the texts printed here; the serious scholar has had difficulty in finding them and in determining their authorship and dates. Some of Carlson's attributions and datings may be revised as studies proceed, but he offers the best that the most exact scholarship can hope for at the present time. Incidentally, the richness of the language of these documents makes some of them significant works of Elizabethan literature: Barrow's *Fourth Examination* and his *True Description out of the Worde of God, of the Visible Church,* both in Volume III, are splendid documents of the human spirit. In a review of Volume II of this series (see *AHR,* LX [Oct. 1954], 158), I complained about the *literatim* reproduction of the documents—printer's errors, abbreviations, and Elizabethan typography—since it made them unnecessarily difficult to read. I am glad to report that in these new volumes Carlson has made sensible emendations which preserve the scholarly integrity of his work without hampering its readability.

Rutgers University RICHARD SCHLATTER

MARGINAL PRYNNE, 1600–1669. By *William M. Lamont.* [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 250. $5.75.) In his study of the Puritan pamphleteer William Prynne, William Lamont presents a clear thesis, effectively argued and deftly written. Best known for having his ears cropped and then lopped off for his attack on the theater, which incidentally involved Queen Henrietta Maria, Prynne is usually pictured as an inconsistent conservative always "agin the government," whether Laudian bishops, Presbyterian clergy, or the various interregnum regimes. Starting as an enemy of Stuart absolutism, he ended up working for the Restoration. Lamont finds a fundamental consistency underlying these changes. Throughout, Prynne remained true to one cause: "Godly discipline." In the 1630's he praised the Elizabethan church because its "good bishops" had worked for public morality, unlike the Laudians, whom he attacked for neglect of preaching, exaltation of a *jure divino* episcopate, and approach to Rome—as Prynne viewed Arminianism. Against the Laudians Prynne backed the Commons as truer champions of a Godly discipline, then shifted his support for the same motives to the Presbyterian party at the time of the Westminster Assembly. When the assembly moved too slowly in the great cause and the clergy began to neglect the "reprobate majority" by excluding it from communion, Prynne withdrew his support and fell back finally on the "ancient balance of the constitution" of king, Lords, and Commons: hence his support of Charles II. Disillusioned with the Restoration religious settlement, he spent his last years until his death in 1669 battling the Neo-Laudians in the Commons. Lamont's study is not a biography. Finding little new material on Prynne's life, he does not deal with him as lawyer or antiquarian, concentrating rather on the successive stages of his thinking about church and state. Many of the chapters turn on the analysis of a single important pamphlet, but the analysis is punctuated by epigrammatic summaries and enlivened with touches of humor. Because of his innumerable citations in the margin Prynne was sometimes referred to as "Marginal Prynne," but with a book as good as this the use of that nickname to liven the title was an unnecessary concession to "popular" taste.

College of Wooster ROBERT WALCOTT

THE LETTER BOOKS, 1644–45, OF SIR SAMUEL LUKE, PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNOR OF NEWPORT PAGNELL. Edited with an introduction by *H. G. Tibbutt.* [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 4.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. 740. $20.00 postpaid.) Newport Pagnell is a small Bedfordshire town, whose location at a strategic

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junction of roads made it a vital point in the supply line between London and the Eastern Association Counties during the Civil War and where, consequently, Parliament maintained a permanent garrison. The military governor from late 1643 to June 1645 was Sir Samuel Luke, a prominent Bedfordshire gentleman, M.P. for Bedford Borough in 1640, a moderate in religion and politics, and well connected within the inner circle of the Parliamentarian leadership of the war years. This volume calendars his correspondence from October 1644 to June 1645 and includes as well 261 scout reports from February 1644 to April 1645. All the material comes from British Museum manuscripts (Egerton and Stowe). The correspondence is divided more or less equally between letters received by and those sent by Luke. Principally they are letters to or from other commanders, local Parliamentarian committees, or by the committees at Westminster; there are also routine warrants, safe-conducts, and so forth. His correspondents include Essex, Manchester, Fairfax, Cromwell, and other Parliamentary notables; the matters they deal with are mainly military. There is also much correspondence with his father, Sir Oliver, sitting at Westminster for Bedford County, or with others of his kinsmen. The material is invaluable for anyone concerned with the military history of the war, with the affairs of the powerful Eastern Association, or local history in Bedford or the neighboring counties. There are lesser pickings for those with political or other general interests in the Civil War period. Little of this material has been printed elsewhere, and for that cross references are given. The editing is workmanlike; there are indexes of persons, places, and subjects and separate indexes for the scout reports. This volume is published jointly by the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society (as their Volume XLII) and by H. M. Stationery Office for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Haverford College WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE NAVY IN THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR. By *J. R. Powell.* Introduction by *C. V. Wedgwood.* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1962. Pp. xviii, 240. $8.50.) Much has been written of the military aspects of the English Civil War, but until the appearance of this work there has been no definitive study of the role played by the navy. The topic is of course an important one, for the fact that Parliament received the support of the navy influenced not only the outcome but also the nature of the conflict. As Miss Wedgwood points out in the introduction, Parliamentary control of the navy had the effect of inducing foreign countries to give their support, either officially or unofficially, to the Parliamentary side, while the navy's control of the seas around England effectively prevented the armed intervention of the European powers, as was happening in Germany at the same time. Thus the English Civil War remained a civil war and did not become an international conflict. Mr. Powell is concerned largely with two questions: why the navy joined the Parliamentary side, and how its commander, the Earl of Warwick, "achieved so much with so little." In answering the first, the author gives a brief account of the "humiliations" suffered by the navy under King Charles, but he devotes most of his attention to the events of 1642: Parliament's appointment of the able Earl of Warwick to command the navy and Warwick's vigorous actions which prevented the capture of Hull and secured Portsmouth for the Parliamentary side. The second question is answered by a long and sometimes tedious account of the navy's activities from 1642 to 1649. Powell has obviously done a very competent piece of research, but in striving for completeness he gets bogged down in so many details of battles and sieges that it is difficult at times to determine what Warwick's strategy was and how it was related to the military campaigns. The quality of the book is also marred by an awkward literary style. Powell seems overly fond of archaic words and hackneyed phrases, and some of his attempts to give vivid descrip-

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tions of certain dramatic events are embarrassingly crude. Whoever was responsible for the proofreading sadly neglected the job; the book has far too many misspellings and other typographical errors, some of which are merely annoying while others convey wrong meanings. Somewhat typical is the statement on page 129 that the Presbyterians in 1646 "prescribed" Anglicanism.

Temple University ROBERT C. JOHNSON

THE ROYAL ARSENAL: ITS BACKGROUND, ORIGIN, AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY. In two volumes. By *O. F. G. Hogg.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 722; vii, 723–1542. $40.35 the set.) Something of the scope of this vast work may be gathered from the first of its twenty-three appendixes, which is a list of "armament chiefs" in England beginning with Gilbert the Wardrober (1165–1177) and ending with General Sir Cecil Sugden, master general of the ordnance in 1961. It is concerned basically with the history of the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, from its origin in about 1670 to the final loss of its pre-eminence among government manufacturing establishments in 1957. It is a work of scholarship, based upon a wide variety of original sources and usually (though not quite invariably) meticulously documented. Brigadier Hogg held several appointments in the arsenal, and his work has been a labor of love. He worked indefatigably, it is clear, in the Ordnance and War Office records in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. He remarks, "modern records . . . are more prone to destruction than their counterparts of yester-year," and partly because of this unpleasant fact the twentieth century is treated in less detail than earlier periods. The book in general, however, contains a vast amount of detail, much of it local and, it must be said, quite inconsequential. It might well have been greatly shortened. Nevertheless, quite apart from its main theme, the book presents valuable information on a variety of matters. There are chapters on the early history of the Royal Artillery and the Royal Military Academy, both of which began in "Woolwich Warren," and they add materially to our knowledge. There is much miscellaneous information on weapons (we learn that the earliest mention of guns in England is found in the records of the city of London for 1339), on manufacturing processes (the first steam engine appeared at Woolwich in 1805, but steam was not introduced on a large scale until 1848), and on government employment practices. This is an important reference work that should be in every military library and every library of British history.

University of Toronto C. P. STACEY

SIR JOHN BANKS, BARONET AND BUSINESSMAN: A STUDY OF BUSINESS, POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN LATER STUART ENGLAND. By *D. C. Coleman.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 215. $6.40.) Stuart businessmen have recently been receiving attention. Besides Tawney's splendid treatment of Lionel Cranfield, there have been others, including a short sketch of Sir Josiah Child, of the East India Company. Child's career in many ways parallels that of Sir John Banks, the subject of this excellent biography. D. C. Coleman, of the London School of Economics, was attracted to Banks because of the series of Banks's ledgers now in the Kent County Archives. Using these and scattered company and government records, he has made Banks into as lifelike a figure as could be expected of this rather bloodless financier. Like Child, Banks began as a victualing contractor for the Cromwellian navy. Of minor Kentish gentry, he married into a family of prominent Puritan London merchants, which started him on a successful career in foreign trade and government finance. He grew rich after the Restoration, sat in the House of Commons, and married his daughters into the aristocracy—again like Child. Active in the East

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Indies and Mediterranean trade, he also bought and sold Kentish real estate and dealt in fee farm rents (assigned him in payment of a government loan). A big lender to the government, he was always repaid on profitable terms, proving him a remarkably successful financier. This success story is documented by Coleman, who also tells us of Banks's personal and social life. His success in society was marked by a baronetcy, membership in the Royal Society, a fashionable town house in Lincolns Inn Fields, and a prominent Tory politician, Heneage Finch (subsequently Earl of Aylesford), as a son-in-law. It was through the Royal Society that Banks procured the services of John Locke to convoy his luckless heir Caleb on the grand tour. In politics Banks does not fit the stereotype of the rising bourgeois capitalist. Instead of Whig, he was high Tory, partly no doubt because of his alliance with the Finch family. Nor do his ledgers support Max Weber's concept of the Protestant businessman with his rational calculation of profit and loss. Though kept meticulously in the double-entry "Italian style," they indicate that Banks cast a trial balance only when he came to the end of a particular ledger. All in all this is an accurate and illuminating addition to our knowledge of the English entrepreneurial class in the later seventeenth century.

College of Wooster ROBERT WALCOTT

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Henry Hamilton*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 452. $8.00.) An extension of the previous work of Professor Hamilton in that it goes back into the eighteenth century to describe the roots of the Industrial Revolution in Scotland, this work breaks much new ground. Although numerous accounts of segments of the Scottish economic development in the 1700's have appeared, this book seems to provide the first complete study of this important era. The book reflects Hamilton's careful and methodical approach to his work. He has covered the source material carefully, as is indicated by his bibliography and footnotes. The result is a mass of detailed information on every aspect of the economic development of the country. With this material he has painted a picture of the economic history of Scotland during the days preparatory to the Industrial Revolution from which few aspects are missing. Yet, I must also confess that I found the book somewhat disappointing in that the author has not attempted an analysis of the factors that led to the economic evolution of Scotland in the eighteenth century. His interpretation appears in incidental references and at certain points, but he makes no over-all analysis of the material he uses. He narrows himself so strictly to the "economic," moreover, that he misses the opportunity to indicate the place that such institutions as the Scottish universities played both in practical developments and theoretical analysis of contemporary events. But even more important, the author makes little attempt to relate the thinking of Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, David Hume, and other Scots who contributed much to the development of economic theory to the events of their own day and age. He also fails to deal with some important matters of detail, such as the relation of the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 to Scottish law. Yet in spite of these criticisms, the book should prove extremely useful to those interested in the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Clearly written and well produced with maps and other aids, it should open up a new field for those who have heretofore devoted themselves primarily to the origins of the eighteenth-century economic revolution in England.

McGill University W. STANFORD REID

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Colonial Series, AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES. Volume XLIII, 1737. Edited by *K. G. Davies*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British

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Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. xvi, 398. $22.00 postpaid.) The latest addition to this celebrated series begun in 1860 covers a year marked by earnest efforts to resolve Anglo-French conflicts rooted in the French Edict of 1727, the Montserrat Act of 1736, and mounting tension with Spain arising from alarmingly frequent attacks upon British shipping, occasioning angry repercussions both at home and in the overseas possessions. The volume is notable in that Georgia records are included for the first time. Indeed, 277 of the 662 major abstracts bear upon that proprietary colony, resulting in an exceptionally large book selling at a formidable price. The Caribbean colonies, then the jewels of Britain's somewhat restricted empire, continued to dominate the scene. It is the Georgia papers, however, that, because of their freshness, will claim the colonial specialist's first attention. Requiring six and a half long columns of meticulous indexing, they cover an extraordinary range of material on economic, social, and political affairs certain to engender new scholarly interest in this somewhat neglected outlying province's early days. The entries on varied agricultural experiments, immigration (including the presence of Italian silk winders), trade, Indian relations, and rumored Spanish designs should prove of absorbing interest to most users. The Georgia Society Trustee papers, oddly enough, prove far less significant than might have been expected. The forty-three volumes of this series, published over the past 103 years, naturally vary greatly in quality, and some have proven lamentably deficient for present-day users. The current one is, in every way, a superior product and is a great credit to Davies, a fellow of New College, Oxford, who produced not only the text but the introduction and the superlatively good index as well.

Ohio State University LOWELL RAGATZ

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume IV, JULY 1778–JUNE 1782. Edited by *John A. Woods.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xxiv, 474. $12.00.) This volume contains 289 letters, 125 of them printed for the first time. The most substantial information in the volume concerns Burke's relations with his constituents in Bristol and his failure to be re-elected for that city in 1780, as his friends had hoped he would be. The volume closes with the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, Burke's patron, and marks the beginning of another phase in his career. A few of the letters relate to Rockingham's accession to office shortly before his death in 1782. They reveal that by that time Burke was involving himself in questions pertaining to India, which were to occupy much of his attention in the future. The brief introduction is sufficient; the notes are more than ample.

Duke University W. T. LAPRADE

THE LATER CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE III, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II. Volume II, FEBRUARY 1793 TO DECEMBER 1797. Edited by *A. Aspinall.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xlii, 676. $22.50.) This work is the second in a series of five volumes edited by Professor Aspinall, which, when complete, will cover the years from 1783 to 1810. It includes a 34-page introduction, 650 pages of correspondence, and an index. The high standards of editing evident in the first volume are continued in this one. There is, however, a considerable difference in the characteristics of the two introductions and of the correspondence. The years 1782–1792 are among the most interesting and exciting in British history, while the five covered by this second volume are among the most lugubrious. The political and economic recovery of Britain after 1782 and the promise of the first three years of the French Revolution are in marked contrast to the long series of British domestic and military disasters after 1793 and to the Reign of Terror and the Directory in France. These differences are

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reflected both in the introductions and in the letters. The section of the introduction that deals with political history is largely devoted to the decline of the parliamentary opposition to Pitt after the outbreak of war in 1793, to the unsuccessful attempt of the so-called Armed Neutrality to overthrow him in 1797, and to the debts and marriage settlement of the Prince of Wales. The second section is a sketch of the problems the King experienced with his seven sons and with his attempts to provide his daughters with a decent standard of living and husbands. In view of George III's own admission that he took a less active part in political life after 1789, it may seem odd that the number of pages of correspondence should be practically the same for both volumes when the first one covers more than nine years and the second less than five. The explanation seems to be that far more letters from other collections than that of George III are included in this volume; many of these were written neither by nor to George III. Except for those whose chief interest lies in the private lives of the royal family, neither the introduction nor the letters will be as interesting as those in Volume I. On the other hand, to research scholars in this field the addition of so many letters from other collections, to which access is difficult, and the footnotes, which give the locations of answers to items printed, here will prove invaluable. The publication of the final three volumes will make the writing of a definitive biography of George III much easier.

Western Reserve University DONALD GROVE BARNES

NARODNAIA EMIGRATSIIA I KLASSOVAIA BOR'BA V ANGLII V 1825–1850 GG. [Popular Emigration and the Class Struggle in England, 1825–1850]. By *N. A. Erofeev*. (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Press. 1962. Pp. 534.) This book examines the forces that brought about large-scale emigration from the British Isles during the years 1825–1850 in the light of the thesis that such a movement was not, "as bourgeois researchers depict the matter," a purely economic one, but that it rested upon the emigrant's recognition that there was no hope for improvement of his depressed condition at home and that "at the same time somewhere there had to be other, better systems which could assure more favorable conditions for material success." In short, emigration was also the means of waging a political struggle with the existing order, and the annual fluctuation in the numbers of emigrants can, in part, be explained not only on economic grounds, but also on the basis of the workers' varying assessments of the possibility of a successful political outcome at home. Mr. Erofeev also examines the attitude of the British upper classes to this movement, coming to the conclusion that they tended to favor it as ridding the land of malcontents who might threaten the position of the bourgeoisie and the continuance of capitalism. The author is also interested in the reception that these emigrants found in Australia, South Africa, Canada, and, especially, the United States. He is particularly critical of what he calls the "legend" that mid-nineteenth-century America was a country of wide possibilities and of freedom, urging rather that it was as subject to social ills as any of the countries of the Old World, and cites much literature of the times, both familiar and obscure, to prove his thesis. The author's argument on all these points is bolstered by copious footnotes, by a set of statistical tables, and by a bibliography, impressive for the great amount and variety of material it lists, ranging from the expected works of Marx and Engels to Chartist pamphlets and more recent monographs of relevance. As a result of this great breadth both of argument and of material offered in evidence, this book is most difficult to evaluate, for it calls on its readers not only for linguistic ability, but also for familiarity with ideological concepts, both of the period under discussion and of the milieu in which the author works, and with historical facts in combinations not often found together. Furthermore, the heavy insistence upon the present-day evils

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of the United States, which appears as a gratuitous seasoning to Erofeev's remarks about the flaws of nineteenth-century America, tends to create a feeling that his interpretation of the past is largely designed as a weapon for fighting contemporary battles. Despite these objections, and others that specialists in given fields will inevitably raise, this book is worthy of attention for the great body of material on which it rests and for the fact that it offers an outsider's view of a phenomenon hitherto chiefly the concern of historians in the English-speaking countries.

Library of Congress R. V. Allen

WALES IN BRITISH POLITICS, 1868–1922. By *Kenneth O. Morgan.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1963. Pp. x, 353. 30*s.*) As a result of exhaustive research in unpublished and published materials, Dr. Morgan has produced a study of the role of Wales in British political life that is almost encyclopedic in scope and meets "a marked deficiency in the historiography of Modern Wales." His attention to detail, although sometimes tedious, never obscures the great issues that were important to the Welsh after the real emergence of Wales as an important factor in British politics in 1868. With skill and insight, Morgan charts the reasons for the failure of *Cymru Fydd,* illuminates Welsh agrarian radicalism, and accounts for the variation in attitudes of the Liberals and Conservatives and especially those of Gladstone, Chamberlain, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, and Lloyd George toward Welsh political, economic, and social problems. Indeed, this study not only gives a new dimension to Gladstone's stand on Welsh problems and demands, but also helps make Lloyd George more understandable in the context of the British political scene. There is also much excellent information on such Welsh figures as Tom Ellis, Stuart Rendel, and a host of other personages active in Welsh politics during this period. But what were the great issues that vitally concerned the Welsh and their political associates and opponents? Although disestablishment of the Welsh church was all important, there were also such absorbing problems as the extension of educational opportunities, land reform, and the desire for greater local autonomy. The success or failure of the Welsh parliamentary delegation in dealing with these issues forms a major facet of this study, and, in dealing with the personalities and strategy of the Welsh M.P.'s, Morgan is eminently judicious. He is restrained in assessing praise and blame and always highly perceptive in discerning motives. In essence, he has produced a standard work of reference for the history of Wales and its parliamentary representation and their place in British politics from the Victorian through the immediate post-World War I era. Perhaps Morgan will carry forward in another volume the course of Wales in British political life after the fall of Lloyd George and chart the role of socialism and Welsh nationalist agitation for Home Rule in the region.

University of Mississippi Joseph O. Baylen

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF LLOYD GEORGE. By *Lord Beaverbrook.* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1963. Pp. 320. $4.95.) This is the latest study by Beaverbrook of the shifts of power in British politics during the period of the First World War and its aftermath. Its vivid style, spiced by the author's impish sense of fun, his ability to convey both the greatness and pettiness of Lloyd George, and, above all, the uniqueness of the sources employed make it his most absorbing to date. Beaverbrook portrays his subject as clinging desperately "to the wheel guiding the vehicle of state until he was flung forth—the fate of every politician who stays too long." He exposes in detail, and with a savage eye for the ridiculous, the reasons for the impending collapse of the coalition in the early 1920's, the schemes and stratagems of the Prime Minister in his endeavors to salvage his position (including the unusual ex-

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pedient of a war with Turkey!), and his own, Beaverbrook's, part in inducing Bonar Law's re-entry into affairs, culminating in the dramatic Carlton Club meeting that virtually dismissed Lloyd George forever from high office. While the outline of events dealt with is, of course, familiar, the narrative is enhanced by references to the unpublished diaries and autobiography of Miss Frances Stevenson, Lloyd George's secretary from 1911 on (she became his second wife in 1943), who had been familiar "with every move of her master" for some years before this crisis in his fortunes. Stevenson, it would appear, was a shrewd and candid observer at the very center of a political maelstrom, and her notes and diaries would surely be worth reading in full. As in Beaverbrook's other volumes, the narrative is also enriched by many plums of unpublished correspondence, deftly employed and then given in full in appendixes. Readers of Beaverbrook's histories will already be familiar with his gentle treatment of Bonar Law, his mockery of Curzon and Derby, his somewhat cautious criticism of George V and his court advisers, and his faintly ambivalent attitude to those ardent spirits, Churchill, F. E. Smith, and Lloyd George himself. The volume ends with a lament for Bonar Law and for the collapse of "the Beaver's" program for Empire free trade which lost its most powerful supporter at his death. This essential book furthers its author's reputation both as a serious historian and a storyteller. One hopes his promised volumes on the "Age of Baldwin" and "Churchill's Victory" can be equally spirited, good tempered, well documented, and enjoyable.

University of South Carolina GEORGE CURRY

RECRUITS TO LABOUR: THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY, 1914–1931. By *Catherine Ann Cline*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 198. $5.00.) Accounts of the formation of the Labour party and of its earlier contributions to the political life of Great Britain have by now been rather well done. This has tended to shift interest to special topics and to marginal questions within the larger frame. Miss Cline has added to the growing list by this study in which she examines the "conversion" of seventy persons, for the most part former Liberals, to the Labour cause and examines their reasons for the switch as well as giving some attention to their influence upon the new party. In an appendix the author gives a brief sketch of each of the seventy, which enables the reader to place each in his proper political environment and to understand a bit more of individual and collective backgrounds. If one imagined that the motive for change was the attractions of socialism, one would be wrong. For most it seemed that dissatisfaction with the failures of the Liberals at home and abroad led to the choice of Labour as a party free of the old historical burdens of ineptness and guilt. While socialism was acceptable, more important was the chance for a fresh start along a political path open to innovation and adventure. In this context, Cline places her subjects in proper relationship to the domestic and foreign issues of the period. The study is an interesting one and gives much information, otherwise difficult to come by, about the second and third layer of party members. One might have preferred a wider scope and a study that went deeper into party membership, though the author rightly recognizes that the identity of the more modest party recruits is perhaps impossible to establish and follow. Though a more ingratiating style would have added to the pleasure of the account, the reader has ample reason to be grateful for what Cline has done for the "seventy."

University of North Carolina JAMES L. GODFREY

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN BRITAIN SINCE 1918. By *D. E. Butler*. (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 232. $6.40.) "Nobody cheats in this affair: but the whole thing is crooked," says Sir Alan Patrick Herbert in advocat-

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ing the alternative vote as a means of improving the justice of the British electoral system (*Daily Telegraph,* Dec. 19, 1963). Mr. Butler, who from the first edition of this book (1953) and from his studies of the last three general elections has established a reputation as an election analyst, gives a more disinterested evaluation. "On balance" the system produces "a general judgement between the merits of the national parties." The "relatively insignificant" discussions of the system during recent years are evidence of its "general acceptance." Butler is concerned only with elections to the House of Commons, excluding from consideration the administration of electoral law, party organization, campaigns and election tactics, and public opinion. Even so he is more inclusive than C. S. Seymour and H. L. Morris whose histories of electoral reform, covering between them the period 1832–1918, concentrated upon parliamentary actions. After describing succinctly in Part I Parliament's efforts from 1918 to 1959 to adjust the electoral system, Butler supplies in Part II some facts about the working of the system in the general and by-elections of that period. The lack of reliable factual information upon electoral matters has nowhere been more ironically evident than in the parliamentary debates. Butler means by factual information not merely "the deceptively simple aggregates of seats and votes" but also the results of proper statistical analyses of the raw figures. Common sense might dictate some of his techniques, for example, comparing figures only when they are comparable. The analyses produce some results which, if available in time, might have illuminated opinionated debates about equalization of the franchise, plural voting, and proportional representation, among other matters. Yet Butler's conclusions rest in some instances upon assumptions about unknowns, such as the use of the business vote or upon conjectures about the possible distribution of the alternative vote or the single transferable vote. It seems that with Butler, the British people think the system works "reasonably systematically." Since the acts of 1948 and 1949 the necessarily chronic problem of redistribution of seats has been "the only aspect of the electoral system to provoke major controversy," unless, that is, Sir Alan is still able to provoke one.

University of Kentucky CARL B. CONE

THE POLICY OF SIMMERING: A STUDY OF BRITISH POLICY DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, 1936–1939. By *Wm. Laird Kleine-Ahlbrandt.* Foreword by *Sir Harold Mitchell.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1962. Pp. xii, 161. Glds. 16.75.) In this small volume the author seeks to present an account of British policy during the Spanish Civil War. Adopting for the most part a chronological method, he touches on the formation and career of the Non-Intervention Committee and British relations with France, Germany, and, above all, Italy, from 1936 to 1939. Some treatment is offered of the shifting position of the Labour party as well as British business interests in Spain. The author depicts British policy as unheroic and temporizing but eventually effective in achieving its ends: containment of the Civil War and preservation of the integrity of Spain. The victory of Franco, perhaps the only dictator whom the British government could understand, was favored almost from the beginning, even by Anthony Eden. Kleine-Ahlbrandt believes that Germany was surprised by the lack of firmness on the part of the British and that the Germans would have backed down, dragging Italy with them, had London been more determined. Yet British policy cannot be classified as a failure. Unhappily, this is a very thin account, omitting many important points and treating others too lightly. Despite the claim of the author, who took his doctorate in political science in 1962 from a European institution, that his work is based extensively on primary sources, he appears to have drawn on very few of them. One may wonder if an American graduate school would have accepted this study as a doctoral dissertation in history. Furthermore, much

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of the writing, including the title itself, is infelicitous, and typographical errors are numerous. If occasional bits of insight brighten the book, they do not compensate for its inadequacy.

New York University JOHN EDWIN FAGG

EUROPE

INTERNATIONALISM IN EUROPE, 1815–1914. By *F. S. L. Lyons.* [European Aspects. Series C, Studies on Politics, Number 14.] (Leiden: A. W. Sythoff. 1963. Pp. 412. Fl. 35.) There is no doubt that the nationalism rather than the internationalism of nineteenth-century Europe has received most of the historian's attention. But, as Professor Lyons rightly points out, "Alongside the Europe of many frontiers there existed an international Europe where the traditional divisions between countries had come to have less and less meaning." The author sees the national boundaries transcended or blurred in five major areas: economic cooperation, international labor movements, intellectual (scientific) internationalism, humanitarianism, and the peace movements. Drawing upon an impressive amount of meticulously researched material, Lyons attempts to show how nineteenth-century Europe strove to break down the walls of nationalism with the ram of international cooperation. In the 1960's when international cooperation, especially among the states of Western Europe, is the goal of many, Lyons' book is particularly timely. I was intrigued by the title of the book, but I was rather disappointed upon reading it. Instead of a historical analysis of the forces of internationalism in Europe as opposed to the forces of nationalism, the book is a series of individual studies held together only by an introduction, a conclusion, and the fact that all the selections deal with international organizations. We are made aware not only of the First and Second Internationals but also of the International Sugar Union, the International Chamber of Commerce, and the First Hague Peace Conference. Lyons states that he had hoped to write a synthesis based upon previous work, but found so few adequate studies in the field that he had to devote much time to primary research. Possibly that is why he presents a sort of anthology of interdependent monographs, some of which would not be quite able to stand alone. The enumeration and description of the surprisingly multitudinous organizations dedicated to establishing international cooperation in nineteenth-century Europe are, of course, of interest to the historian, and this book should be considered an extremely useful pioneer study in a much-neglected historical field.

University of Illinois, Chicago WALTER B. ASCH

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LO STATO PONTIFICIO E LA FRANCIA. Second Series, 1830–1848. Volume II, 18 LUGLIO 1831–21 DICEMBRE 1833. Edited by *Giuliano Procacci.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814–1860. Part 1, Documenti Italiani. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1963. Pp. x, 375. L. 3,500.) With Volume II Mr. Procacci is continuing the publication of the Second Series with the same care and scholarship as in his initial volume (see *AHR,* LXVIII [Apr. 1963], 791). In addition to consulting the regular correspondence of the papal court with its Paris nuncio, he has found and used special files on the French occupation of Ancona, on correspondence with the French embassy in Rome, and on papal diplomatic circulars. He has also used the files of the Paris nunciature to fill gaps in Roman papal files. Thus we have reproduced in their original Italian texts 215 documents of Franco-papal relations for the two and a half

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years from July 1831 to December 1833. These papers deal with such important questions as the French occupation of Ancona, the agreement on Belgium, the affair of the Duchess of Berry, the labor unrest in Paris, Lyons, and Grenoble, and Church affairs in France. For studies of individual men, researchers will find considerable information on Louis Philippe, Gregory XVI, Cardinal Bernetti, Lammenais, Prince Metternich, Périer, Sébastiani, Guizot, Sainte Aulaire, Broglie, General Cubières, Apponyi, and Archbishop de Guelen. Again this volume contains, as do all those in the "Fonti" series, an excellent table of summaries of the documents and an index.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume III, 4 DICEMBRE 1849–30 DICEMBRE 1852; Volume IV, 3 GENNAIO–27 MARZO 1857. Edited by *Franco Valsecchi.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1963. Pp. xviii, 369; 337. L. 3,500 each.) The documents in these two volumes, the original copies of which are in the *Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna and practically none of which have hitherto been published, deal with Austro-Sardinian diplomatic relations between December 1849, after the Treaty of Milan had been signed, and March 1857, when relations between the two countries were broken. The large majority consist of communications from Rodolfo Apponyi until his recall as Austrian minister at Turin in 1853. These are followed by the correspondence of his successor, Count Luigi Paar, with the Austrian Foreign Minister. In their reports the two ministers kept the government in Vienna informed about the vicissitudes of Sardinian politics. The documents reflect the major aspects of Piedmontese life and give insight into the antagonisms that troubled relations between the two countries, such as their conflicting views about various articles of the Treaty of Milan, the sequestration of the property of political emigrants by Austria, the attacks on Austria by the Sardinian press, and their conflicting attitudes during the Crimean War and the Congress of Paris. There is a short but good preface in the first volume in which the general nature and importance of the documents are described. Each volume has two excellent indexes, in the first of which the contents of all the individual documents are briefly described. The second is an index of all persons alluded to in the volume.

Rice University R. JOHN RATH

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA GRAN BRETAGNA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume VII (1 APRILE 1859–29 FEBBRAIO 1860); Volume VIII (1 MARZO 1860–30 MARZO 1861). Edited by *Giuseppe Giarrizzo.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1962. Pp. 464; 389. L. 3,500 each.) In these two volumes the editor continues the excellent publication of the British documents on Anglo-Sardinian relations between April 1859 and March 1861, until Sardinia becomes a part of the united Italy (Volume VI reviewed in *AHR,* LXVIII [July 1963], 1120). There are 736 documents, reproduced flawlessly in the original English texts, which are drawn mainly from the official Foreign Office correspondence (PRO FO 67 and 167) and from the Russell Papers. Valuable information is furnished on the Austro-Sardinian War, the Villafranca peace preliminaries, the Reiset mission, the annexations of central Italy and Savoy, the Zurich Conference, the Garibaldi expedition, Sardinian aid to Rumanians and Hungarians, and British recog-

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nition of the new kingdom of Italy. Much new material is also included for the study of the careers of Napoleon III, Victor Emmanuel II, Cavour, Malmsbury, Lord John Russell, Hudson, Sackville-West, E. d'Azeglio, and Damorbida. Four documents in particular are significant: Hudson's version of the Villafranca terms, Cavour's account of Villafranca, Victor Emmanuel's accounts of Villafranca, and Victor Emmanuel's opinion of Cavour—"He's a muddle-head who's always bringing some wasps' nest down about my ears. He's crazy, and I've often told him so." By giving us the Hudson-Russell correspondence, Dr. Giarrizo has conveniently furnished the counterpart to the Cavour-D'Azeglio correspondence edited earlier in the "Cavour e l'Inghilterra" series.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

THE BRITISH "INTERVENTION" IN TRANSCASPIA, 1918–1919. By *C. H. Ellis.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. 175. $4.50.) In his study of Soviet foreign policy, George Kennan once qualified the Allies' anti-Bolshevik interventions as "serious mistakes." In his words, "they reflected no credit on the governments that sent them," and he finds that "the impression they made in Russia was deplorable." A new account of one such "mistake" by the British government has recently been offered by a former officer of the British-Indian expeditionary forces in Transcaspia, Colonel C. H. Ellis. This instance of intervention well illustrates the indecision of the London cabinet, which could never decide exactly what the British were supposed to do in Central Asia. The expedition had been carried out on a modest scale at no time exceeding two thousand troops who cooperated militarily with White Russian forces operating between the Caspian Sea and Bukhara. It was probably the first instance of modern technical warfare in the desert, and many of its features, such as operations on a very narrow front rapidly shifting from one oasis to another along a single communication line, could be observed some twenty-three years later during the Libian campaign in World War II. The intervention was primarily undertaken, as at least it was claimed by the British, with the purpose of forestalling Turco-German infiltration toward India and denying the Central Powers the use of Turkistan cotton. It started in the summer of 1918 and, since World War I ended in November of the same year, the subsequent presence of the British forces in Central Asia became an open intervention in the Russian Civil War until they were pulled out in spring of 1919. The British could never take the responsibility for giving strong and dynamic support to the Russian anti-Bolshevik forces; their military showing was not particularly successful, and finally their retreat from Transcaspia considerably undermined the British position in that part of Asia. The third Afghan War, during which Emir Amanullah daringly attacked the British fortifications in the northwest frontier, reflected the weakness of British policies. To a certain extent Ellis' book answers and reinterprets the recent works of Soviet historians on the revolutionary and military events in Central Asia. He gives new and important details of British operations and explains the reason for the British action. Since the author extensively uses British and Soviet literature of the civil war in Central Asia, supplementing the documentary material by his own reminiscences on these fateful years, his book may be considered a conclusive investigation by Western scholarship of this little-known and, to a considerable extent, forgotten phase of British politics in the Middle East.

Stetson University SERGE A. ZENKOVSKY

JEAN BODIN AND THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY REVOLUTION IN THE METHODOLOGY OF LAW AND HISTORY. By *Julian H. Franklin.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 163. $4.00.) This rather slight study, which still bears the marks of a doctoral dissertation, is about equally divided between a

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summary of the efforts of a group of French jurists in the second half of the sixteenth century to found a system of jurisprudence based on a comparative study of universal history and an account of the closely related attempts of Melchior Cano, François Baudoin, and Jean Bodin to establish a critical method for the evaluation of the authenticity of historical sources. In the opening chapters the author emphasizes the significance of the humanists' reaction against the Scholastic method of legal study as primarily an exegesis of authoritative texts embodied in the Corpus Juris Civilis as codified by Justinian and their development of a more historical interpretation. This, though he does not mention the fact, is reminiscent of the earlier, but equally revolutionary, introduction by John Colet and other humanists of a historical interpretation of the sacred Scriptures in place of the Scholastic method of exegesis of isolated texts. That the historical method of the jurists had a rather different result in that it led to a partial rejection of the authority of the Corpus Juris Civilis is made quite clear, but the treatment of the consequent attempt of Bodin and his predecessors to replace the one authority by a systematic synthesis of the laws of all the most famous peoples is too sketchy to be really informative. In the same way, the last chapter, which deals with Bodin's rules for testing the validity of historical assertions, while one of the most interesting in the book, would have profited by more extensive treatment.

University of Western Ontario WALLACE K. FERGUSON

PIERRE BAYLE. Volume I, DU PAYS DE FOIX À LA CITÉ D'ÉRASME. By *Elisabeth Labrousse*. [Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées, Number 1.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1963. Pp. x, 280. Glds. 31.50.) Four years ago a volume of essays on Pierre Bayle, edited by Paul Dibon, contained contributions by Elisabeth Labrousse, and in 1961 she published her *Inventaire* of Bayle's abundant correspondence. This further contribution is a full-length biography of Bayle from his childhood in the home of a Huguenot pastor in southern France to his death as a refugee fifty-nine years later in Rotterdam. Young Bayle, while taking courses in philosophy in the Jesuit College in Toulouse, became a convert to Catholicism, but a year and a half later he fled Toulouse and the Catholic fold to study in Geneva. Bayle remained a nominal Calvinist for the rest of his life. He occupied a chair of philosophy at the Protestant academy in Sedan for six years until it was closed by royal decree in 1681. Bayle then left France never to return; he had obtained a teaching post in a new academy in Rotterdam, where he remained for the rest of his life and where he became well known as a prodigious writer with seemingly "advanced" views. Because of his apparent deviation from orthodoxy, Bayle was deprived of his teaching post in 1693. His controversial writings included an attack on superstition, a plea for toleration even for those with "erring" consciences, and a widely read *Dictionnaire historique et critique;* its daring footnotes became the arsenal whence many eighteenth-century skeptics and deists obtained their ammunition. I have nothing but praise for the full use made of Bayle's letters. The footnotes are numerous (nearly a thousand) and often of considerable length; they furnish valuable summaries of the many contemporaries of Bayle with whom he was concerned as friend or enemy. There is no bibliography. The author appears to regard this biography as the real successor to that by the French refugee Desmaizeaux that had appeared two years after Bayle's death. Labrousse largely ignores the considerable amount of publication about Bayle between 1708 and 1963. In addition, she is much concerned with showing that Bayle, despite his seeming freedom of thought, was an orthodox Christian rather than a venturesome thinker on the outskirts of theology. She objects strongly to the statement of Jean Delvolvé in his *Religion critique et philosophie positive chez Bayle* (1906) that "Bayle en quittant Toulouse

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n'est plus un homme de foi." The author, however, in discussing Bayle's religious views after he had published his *Dictionnaire,* admits that his God was not the Jewish-Christian Jehovah but probably the supreme being of the eighteenth-century deists. The volume is, on the whole, a valuable addition to the growing body of Bayliana.

Oberlin College HOWARD ROBINSON

MARC-ANTOINE JULLIEN DE PARIS (1775–1848): L'ÉVOLUTION SPIRITUELLE D'UN RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE. CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DES PRÉCURSEURS DES ORGANISATIONS INTERNATIONALES DU XX^e^ SIÈCLE. By *Helmut Goetz.* Translated from the German by *C. Cuénot.* Adapted by *A. Breton.* [Mémoires et documents scolaires.] (Paris: Institut Pédagogique National. 1962. Pp. 267.) Marc-Antoine Jullien, ostensibly a figure of the second rank, turns out to be a remarkable person, not unlike Talleyrand in his flexibility, as we follow him from his Jacobin activities during the Reign of Terror through Thermidor, Napoleon, the Restoration, the July Monarchy, and finally to his death in 1848. Jullien's interest for us lies not only in his political evolution but also in his wide interests and intellectual fecundity. Projects for economic and social reform, for European federation, for education (promoting the methods of Pestalozzi), for the classification of knowledge, and for international cooperation in science—all these show him to be a genuine precursor of several later developments. Goetz evinces a thorough familiarity with the sources. Letters, private journals, published books and pamphlets, Jullien's journalistic work as editor of the *Revue encyclopédique,* and even his second-rate poetry, are all deftly utilized. It is a nourishing study for anyone interested in the political and intellectual history of France from the Revolution to the middle of the nineteenth century.

University of Texas R. DAVIS BITTON

SECULAR RELIGIONS IN FRANCE, 1815–1870. By *D. G. Charlton.* [University of Hull Publications.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull. 1963. Pp. xiii, 249. $5.60.) In this fine book by the senior lecturer in modern French literature in the University of Hull, the author lucidly examines, in what he modestly terms an "introductory survey," the numerous "philosophical substitute religions" that had their Advent and Pentecost in nineteenth-century France. "Political messianism," a subject well treated in the literature, is excluded from this account. The stress is correctly on the secular philosophical and moral aspirations seeking to satisfy the ancient transcendental needs of man and society. Charlton unpretentiously insists that he "can make claim to only occasional scholarly originality." Yet the intelligent design of his work and the perfect taste he uses to illustrate his theme fully compensate for the originality that is disclaimed. The stage is set by a brief rehearsal of the failure that confronted the revival of Christian confidence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The major part of the book is then devoted to charting the substitute paths to salvation, the cult of science, the social and metaphysical religions, the occult and neopagan religions, and the cult of history and progress. In treating the history of the cult of science and its familiar collegium, Saint-Simon, Comte, Émile Littré, and Taine, this study inescapably covers familiar material. The contemporary response and skeptical reaction to this cult are, however, well presented. In like manner the occult religions of Swedenborg, Johann Kaspar Lavater, the beliefs of Delacroix and the Abbé Constant are rescued from the completely bizarre impression they make on first acquaintance. The metaphysical religions of Victor Cousin, Jules Simon, and Étienne Vacherot are judiciously re-examined. The discussion of Théodore Jouffroy (a precursor of R. G. Collingwood) and of Edmond Scherer convincingly demonstrates that the dimensions of the philosophy of history in nineteenth-century thought have not yet

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been adequately measured. And in introducing for the historian's consideration the neglected metaphysician Jules Lequier (1814–1862) this study calls attention to a philosopher who may someday enjoy in Europe a posthumous influence similar to that of Kierkegaard. Lequier's philosophical reflections on metaphysical freedom and revolt anticipated the subject and tone of Albert Camus' *L'Homme révolté*. A brief but characteristically clear appraisal of France's gradual disenchantment with the many promises of salvation concludes this clairvoyant introduction to the secular religions in France from the Restoration to the eve of the Third Republic.

Wesleyan University EDWARD T. GARGAN

POWER AND POLITICS IN BELGIAN EDUCATION, 1815 TO 1961. By *Vernon Mallinson*. (London: Heinemann. 1963. Pp. xi, 253. 42*s*.) Complementing his highly successful comparative education text, Professor Mallinson here presents a short and readable survey of the development and present status of Belgium's educational system. The subject is of more than peripheral interest to European historians, for nineteenth-century Belgian politics turned primarily on the "school problem." There was little else of a practical political nature around which Catholic-Liberal philosophical differences could polarize: franchise limitations were constitutional, the country was neutral in foreign affairs by international treaty, and the competence of the state in economic and social matters was strictly hedged by a laissez-faire policy upon which both legal parties agreed. In Catholic Belgium, however, a "free" educational system meant that the schooling of the nation's youth became essentially a Catholic, antirationalist monopoly. The rationalist Liberals were thereby forced into the dilemma of advocating state intervention or forfeiting future support. Although Mallinson apparently does not appreciate this Liberal dilemma, he contributes new insight into its later consequences by demonstrating how Catholic opposition to secular, state-controlled education coincided with the deeply traditional Belgian reverence for communal autonomy. He thus pictures a centurylong struggle between two protagonists: urbanized, bourgeois Liberals seeking state regulation, promoting progressive methods and the adjustment of education to scientific-technological developments versus Catholics strongly supporting local autonomy, clinging to catechistic methods and traditional notions about the primacy of morality. He weakens this essentially sound thesis, however, by stressing Liberal rationale for change but ignoring Catholic rationale for resisting it. Also, except for an appendix reference to the School Pact of 1959, he virtually excludes developments since the 1940's. It is an unfortunate omission for his whole theme would seem to mature in the *loi Collard* (1955) and especially in the recent attempts at Catholic-Socialist rapprochement. In the last third of the book, Mallinson drops his power politics theme altogether, turns to a description of the rather extensive system of special, technical, commercial, and agricultural education, and concludes with a chapter on the Congo. Though descriptive rather than historical, this portion is a most excellent survey of an extremely complicated subject.

Montana State University ALLAN H. KITTELL

KUNNIAJÄSENELLEEN PROFESSORI EINAR W. JUVALLE: SUOMEN HISTORIAN TAITAVALLE TUTKIJALLE JA TULKITSIJALLE, ETEVÄLLE JA INNOSTAVALLE OPETTAJALLE OMISTAVAT TÄMÄN JUHLAKIRJAN 70-VUOTISPÄIVÄNÄ 7.1.1962. [Historiallinen Arkisto, Number 58.] ([Helsinki:] Suomen Historiallinen Seura. [1962.] Pp. 441.) This fascinating tome is a *Festschrift* published in honor of Professor Einar W. Juva on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. An outstanding figure among the scholars who have made the history of Finland their special field of interest, Juva was the teacher and mentor of a large group of historians.

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Nineteen of his students and colleagues have joined in publishing an excellent collection of research papers, ranging from an analysis of a tenth-century Byzantine description of the land of the Slavs and the "Roos" to Himmler's visit to Finland, July 29–August 8, 1942. Two of the papers, by Oscar Nikula and Hans Hirn, are in Swedish; the rest are in Finnish. All are followed by summaries in German, some of which are long enough to pass for brief articles and therefore enable the reader who does not know Finnish to obtain more than a superficial view of the historian's contribution. It is a pity, incidentally, that neither English nor French summaries are included. With one exception, the papers deal with Finnish history. J. Jaakkola successfully demonstrates that Magnus Sarkilahti of the late 1400's deserves to be called the founder of Finnish history; E. Matinolli discourses on legal conceptions current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; P. Renvall offers fascinating background material for the coup of Gustavus III in 1772; A. Halila describes the unsuccessful attempt to introduce, during the Russian occupation of Finland in 1808–1809, the village elder (starosta) into the structure of local government; E. Kuujo tells the story of the first Finnish scheme to produce a mechanical sowing machine in the 1840's; M. Juva offers an informative summary of the language and nationality problem during the second half of the last century; and Y. Nurmio illuminates foreign policy problems, including the surprisingly fumbling and shortsighted effort to establish a monarchy, of newly independent Finland in the late summer and autumn of 1918. These are a few of the offerings of the volume, several parts of which amply deserve the larger reading public that only publication in an adequate translation can offer.

Columbia University JOHN H. WUORINEN

CARTA MARINA: WORLD GEOGRAPHY IN STRASSBURG, 1525. By *Hildegard Binder Johnson.* [Publication from the James Ford Bell Collection in the University of Minnesota Library.] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1963. Pp. 159. $6.50.) This slim and attractively printed volume deals with what the author admits to be "a modest book and a poorly executed map of the world." They are the *Uslegung* or guidebook and the accompanying *Carta Marina,* published in Strasbourg in 1525 by Johannes Grüninger and edited by Lorenz Fries. The map, only one copy of which is now known to exist, was printed on twelve large sheets. The guidebook carried careful instructions for gluing these together on "a clean old linen sheet" to make a wall map and gave details about peoples and places in Europe and the outer world of the discoverers. Both map and guide were based on earlier maps and geographical notes by the famous Martin Waldseemüller who, until his death in 1518, had been closely associated with Grüninger in a number of successful publishing ventures. Fries is best known for his *Spiegel,* the first German book on internal medicine, which was of the home remedy variety; the book remained popular in Alsace for well over a century. Grüninger had published it and a remarkably large number of other books and maps, rushing most of them off the press with less regard for accuracy than for speedy sales at the nearby Frankfurt fairs. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the map and guide of 1525 have little cartographic value. They were most effectively illustrated, however, and had wide popular appeal. Their significance lies therefore in their influence on the geographical education of the early sixteenth-century public. All this is brought out clearly in the present volume. Although based on difficult and laborious research, it succeeds in conveying a warm human impression of the era in which printing and overseas discovery were new and exciting facets of a rapidly changing world. As such it is a valuable contribution to historical geography.

University of Western Ontario D. G. G. KERR

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DIE ARBEITERFRAGE ZU BEGINN DES MODERNEN KAPITALISMUS IN BRANDENBURG–PREUSSEN, 1685–1806: BIBLIOGRAPHISCH VERMEHRTE UND VERBESSERTE, MIT EINEM REGISTERANHANG VERSEHENE. By *Kurt Hinze*. Introduction by *Otto Büsch*. [Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin. Volume IX, Reprints, Number 1.] (2d ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1963. Pp. xvi, 296.) The Historical Commission of Berlin has wisely decided to reprint an enlarged and revised edition of this copiously documented, well-organized, and scholarly monograph. A student of Sombart, whose inspiration gave birth to this work, the author was educated as an economist in Germany and the United States. This is an original work in the area and, as such, had to be built on contemporary sources, some of them in the Prussian Secret State Archives in Berlin-Dahlem but most of them found in a wide variety of public and private collections. Influenced by Sombart's sharp differentiation of the entrepreneurial class from the proletariat in terms of their respective economic function, Hinze stresses the quantitative and qualitative inadequacy of labor during Prussia's economic development from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Most of the work is focused on the recruitment and training of labor by the state and private firms for the emerging capitalistic enterprises. He describes in detail the process and scope of recruitment from abroad, both inside and outside Germany, the efforts made to employ wives and children of the soldiers in the oversized Prussian Army, the labor of welfare and correctional institutions as well as recruits from the traditional handicraft and agricultural sectors in the developing capitalistic economy. The author must be commended for the refreshing absence of dogmatism and the usual deterministic clichés in his dispassionate discussion of labor shortage as a major obstacle to the expansion of capitalistic enterprise. Thus we see Prussian capitalism develop in spite of the most serious shortages of qualified labor and not as a deliberate and calculated means of employing the swelling hordes of vagabonds and beggars, admittedly as plentiful as they were useless. A crowning merit of this excellent monograph is the close association Hinze establishes between the state and the new capitalistic undertakings and his convincing account of the dedicated though selfish and often misguided and economically irrational solicitude of the Hohenzollern state for the economic and social progress of its people as a whole.

Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

FERDINAND LASSALLE: EINE AUSWAHL FÜR UNSERE ZEIT. Edited with an introduction by *Helmut Hirsch*. [Sammlung Dieterich, Number 287.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1963. Pp. xxxix, 450. DM 18.80.) One hundred years ago, on August 31, 1864, Ferdinand Lassalle (born in 1825) died as he had lived, vigorously and passionately. This collection of writings by and about Lassalle is a centennial marker for his abruptly ended meteoric career. A criterion that Dr. Hirsch uses for the selection of writings is in the form of a question: what about Lassalle is significant for us today? Lassalle the man is projected, for example, by his letter addressed to the young Russian woman, Sophia von Sontzoff, one of the three main women in his life. His affection for another, Helene von Dönniges, involved him in a duel that cost him his life. It is this "dandyhaft" side of Lassalle that is revealed in the "Manuskriptbrief" to Sophia and that the editor believes will give today's reader "a significant experience." Lassalle the thinker is illumined in another category of selections, qualified by the editorial acknowledgment that his greatness rests in the political, rather than the intellectual, arena. According to the editor, Lassalle's *Italian War and the Mission of Prussia,* in which he suggested a Franco-Prussian alliance against Austria, will find an echo in Germany and France today. Writings that portray Lassalle the fighter, consti-

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tuting more than half of the book, are selected from the short period 1862–1864, the seedtime of his historical significance. This was the time when the "Father of German Socialism" issued that movement's "Charter" and created the "first genuine workers' party in the world." A number of evaluations of Lassalle, recorded by his contemporaries and recent authorities, contribute to an understanding of the man and his influence in the context of changing times. This is an interesting profile of a man with a messianic complex who championed the poor and enjoyed the luxuries of the rich. The book is enriched with Lassallean miniature quotations and bibliographical materials.

Wisconsin State College, Superior KARL MEYER

BRIEFWECHSEL MIT KARL MARX UND FRIEDRICH ENGELS. By *Wilhelm Liebknecht.* Edited by *Georg Eckert.* [Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, Number 5.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 509. Glds. 44.) In its series of publications of the correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the International Institute for Social History has now published this collection. The title is misleading because the volume also contains an extensive collection of letters by Eleanor Marx-Aveling of interest to the history of British socialism in the late nineteenth century. The editor stresses that this volume is neither a final nor a scientific edition. The sources of this collection are the manuscripts formerly in the archives of the Social Democratic party of Germany and now at the institute in Amsterdam and those at the archives of the institutes for Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and Berlin. The latter were available to the editor only in printed, or in one case in photostatic, form. According to Eckert, there is reason to believe that there are extant letters that are not contained in any of these archives. This volume is, nevertheless, extremely valuable to the student of nineteenth-century socialism. The letters reveal the inner struggles between Marxists and Lassalleans within the early German Social Democratic party and the conflicts of Marxists with the Proudhonists in the First International and later with the French Possibilists regarding the formation of the Second International. Brief essays scattered through the volume place the letters in their historical context. A very human touch is added by letters of Mrs. Liebknecht and especially those of Mrs. Marx, which offer glimpses into the two households and also reflect Mrs. Marx's great pride in the upper-class background of her daughter's associates.

Roosevelt University GEORG G. IGGERS

DER ENGLISCHE PARLAMENTARISMUS IN DER DEUTSCHEN POLITISCHEN THEORIE IM ZEITALTER BISMARCKS (1857–1890): EIN BEITRAG ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN PARLAMENTARISMUS. By *Reinhard J. Lamer.* [Historische Studien, Number 387.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1963. Pp. 130. DM 13.80.) Lamer's study is excellent, a clear and interesting analysis of the way in which prominent German political leaders and theorists of the Bismarckian era understood the English constitution. In three well-written chapters, Lamer reports German discussions of the structure, functioning, and possibilities of future development of English parliamentarianism. He finds an astonishing degree of misunderstanding, which he attributes to an inability to appreciate the nature of cabinet government. Lamer sees the reason for this inability less in faulty observation than in an unwillingness to draw proper conclusions from what was seen; German liberals clung to a picture of the English constitution as they thought it should be, and their norm for

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good government was the constitutional monarchy. So influential a theorist as Gneist, accordingly, could not give due importance to the powerlessness of the English king because it did not conform to the liberal ideal of balance between monarch and Parliament. Misunderstanding was made easier by the crisis in parliamentary government in England after 1832, which did seem, and not only to Germans, to put in doubt the future of the English form of government. Lamer's study has the merit of being at once a cogent treatment of a modestly defined problem and a demonstration that the problem, in pointing beyond itself, is a significant one.

Connecticut College LENORE O'BOYLE

LUDWIG QUIDDE: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES DEMOKRATISCHEN GEDANKENS IN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Utz-Friedebert Taube.* [Münchener historische Studien, Abteilung neuere Geschichte, Number 5.] (Kallmünz: Verlag Michael Lassleben. 1963. Pp. x, 226. DM 15.80.) In the April 1894 issue of a modest journal, *Die Gesellschaft,* appeared an article titled "Caligula: A Study in Imperial Insanity," by Ludwig Quidde, a then unknown thirty-six-year-old historian. Obviously an attack on the flamboyant William II, the New Course, German militarism, and the general drift of German politics and foreign policy, the political satire aroused tremendous attention throughout Germany. In pamphlet form it went through thirty editions in 1894. The English translation, published in London in 1917, was titled "The Kaiser's Double." For thirteen years Ludwig Quidde, son of a Bremen businessman, had been working as research collaborator on a multivolumed edition of German *Reichstag* documents, first as co-worker of the historian Julius Weiszäcker and then as his successor. The "Caligula" article effectively blasted his hopes for a German university post, especially since the nationalist-minded Prussian professor-prophets, in control of academic jobs, would have nothing to do with the acidulous upstart. Less than two years later, annoyed by references on a medal to William II as "William the Great," Quidde stated publicly that the inscription should have been "To the Memory of an Absurdity and a Political Impudence." Found guilty of lese-majesty, the maverick scholar served three months in a Munich prison. He took it "without any sense of tragedy." With his career as historian demolished, the irrepressible Quidde became a zealous advocate of the democratic idea in Wilhelminian Germany. He supported the *Volkspartei* (south German, democratic) because it was "a party of social and industrial reform, and a party of peace." For the rest of his life he advocated democratic pacifism, on which he wrote many books and articles. As early as 1893 he spoke out for disarmament and the rights of national minorities. He was alienated by German militarism, which he held to be an unmitigated curse. His work was much the same as that of Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (born in 1869 and still alive at the advanced age of ninety-four). In 1919–1920 Quidde was a member of the Weimar National Assembly. In 1927 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which he shared with the Frenchman Buisson. He died in 1941. All this is recounted in a first-rate dissertation by Utz-Friedebert Taube under the sponsorship of Professor Franz Schnabel. The author traces not only the life of this remarkable man, but also describes with understanding and insight the evolution of his ideas and beliefs. The research is painstaking and thorough; there are twenty-four pages of bibliography in small type. The author apparently has missed nothing in the life of his subject. This book is a gratifying example of the historical research now being done in West Germany. It certainly means the end of the intellectual drought of the Hitler years, when otherwise sane young scholars were writing their doctoral dissertations on nonsensical *Rassenkampf* and *Rassenkunde.*

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

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DER WEG NACH VERSAILLES: ERINNERUNGEN 1912–1919. SCHICKSALS-EPOCHE EINER GENERATION. By *Fritz Max Cahén.* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1963. Pp. 383.) The author of this moderately interesting and conceited memoir began his career as a poet and film scenarist just before the Great War, acquired his political education in the cafés of Paris and Berlin, and was less than twenty-eight years old in mid-1919. He describes himself as a lifelong Democrat, anti-Hegelian, Neo-Kantian, and anti-Marxist who never yielded to the seductions of Social Democracy. Instead he identified with Friedrich Naumann and the *Fortschrittliche Volkspartei* and, like them, actively advocated substantive constitutional reforms only when conditions worsened during the war. Cahén was ideally suited to become the *Frankfurter Zeitung's* correspondent in Copenhagen. Both he and his paper were more enlightened than the German government both in style and in persuasion. As a loyal imperial subject he volunteered his services to Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German ambassador. Thereafter he used his "democratic" credentials to permeate the Danish press with pro-German propaganda and to organize cultural exchanges. Immediately after the armistice he accompanied the first US correspondent into Germany in the hope of getting him to dramatize the food shortages and the danger of Bolshevism. Cahén is typical of those *Muss-Demokraten* who in Germany's national interest abetted the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, capitalized on the specter of Bolshevism in Germany, and encouraged the Socialists in the Allied nations to oppose a dictated peace. Not surprisingly, when he became Foreign Minister, Rantzau made Cahén his press secretary, speech writer, and special messenger. According to Cahén, who kept no diary, even before they left Berlin for Versailles he had drafted Rantzau's tough speech, and Rantzau had decided to deliver it in a sitting position in the hope of simulating an atmosphere of negotiation and of avoiding the posture of an accused before his judges. To the bitter end Cahén opposed signing the treaty. He was confident that the Czechs and Poles could be fought off; he also anticipated that because the Allies had occupied Germany they would be forced to feed the people and to realize the impossibility of levying gigantic reparations. In retrospect Cahén even speculates whether this Allied occupation might not have been the prelude to a joint crusade against Soviet Russia. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

Princeton University ARNO J. MAYER

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LES PROBLÈMES DE LA PAIX PENDANT LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE MONDIALE: DOCUMENTS EXTRAITS DES ARCHIVES DE L'OFFICE ALLEMAND DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. Volume I, DES ORIGINES À LA DÉCLARATION DE LA GUERRE SOUS-MARINE À OUTRANCE (AOÛT 1914–31 JANVIER 1917). Published and annotated by *André Scherer* and *Jacques Grunewald.* Preface by *Maurice Baumont* and *Pierre Renouvin.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris, Series "Textes et Documents," Volume III. Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire des Relations internationales.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. lx, 719. 35 fr.) Was there ever a good chance of a negotiated peace during the First World War? The question was reopened some years ago by Hans Gatzke's *Germany's Drive to the West,* and all the evidence that has appeared since that time, including the studies of Karl Birnbaum, Fritz Fischer, Karl Heinz Janssen, Ernest R. May, and Egmont Zechlin, has pointed to a negative conclusion. This conclusion is further confirmed by this new and well-edited collection of documents from the captured files of the German Foreign Office. Devoted in large part to German-American relations, this important volume shows at length the unhappy dilemma confronting the German government as it sought, on the one hand, to maintain American good will and neutrality, while, on the other, it continued to pursue

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the kind of grandiose war aims which, if revealed publicly, would doubtless have alienated American opinion beyond recall and further damaged Germany's already precarious diplomatic situation. It seems clear from these documents that, given its expansionist war aims, it was impossible for Germany to reply specifically to President Wilson's appeal to all the belligerents, in December 1916, for a statement of their war aims, and that such evasion on Germany's part doomed all negotiations before they even began. Some of the documents included in this volume were first published by the *Reichstag* Committee of Inquiry of 1919, but for some reason that committee failed to publish some of the most interesting and revealing official documents on German wartime politics and diplomacy. These documents, it may be added, give much new information on such subjects as the troubled course of Austro-German relations, on Germany's plans for a Polish satellite state, and on numerous other plans and proposals designed to assure Germany's future hegemony in Europe. Finally, these documents also show that the naval command's ambitions were not far below those of the *Oberste Heeresleitung,* including as they did, among other things, the acquisition of much of the Flanders and Courland coast, Dakar, the Azores, and Tahiti. These documents should be widely read. It is to be hoped that they, and the forthcoming documents on the foreign relations of the Weimar Republic, will soon be translated into English.

Rice University FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

ABWEHRKÄMPFE AM NORDFLÜGEL DER OSTFRONT, 1944–1945. [Schriftenreihe des militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes, Beiträge zur Militär-und Kriegsgeschichte, Volume V.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1963. Pp. 459. DM 58.) Any comprehensive scholarly history of World War II will henceforth have to take this volume into account as the most authoritative source on the German retreat from the Baltic States and East Prussia from the time of the mounting of the Soviet Army's offensive in mid-September 1944 to the war's end the following May. Based almost entirely on primary documentary materials, such as operational orders, doctrinal directives, telegraphic and telephonic instructions from the high command of the armed forces and the army, the war diaries of Army Group North and its component Sixteenth and Eighteenth Armies and Group Narva, a corpstype command, which held the left flank of the eastern front, and the diaries, after action reports, and unit histories of the Naval Staff Eastern Baltic, and divisions and regiments, it tells the story of a constant, yet technically skillful German withdrawal on the entire northern sector of the front and of the fundamental issues in strategy between Hitler, as commander in chief of the army, and the army group and army commanders over the question of holding or withdrawing from the Baltic region. The overriding consideration in the commander in chief's decision to hold as much of the Baltic coast as possible, especially the coast of Kurland, which has all but been ignored in both general war histories and memoirs, was the concern for the security of the iron ore life line from the northeastern Swedish ports on the Gulf of Bothnia to the steelworks in western Germany at the other end of the Baltic Sea. In weighing the historical significance of the encirclement of the main body of Army Group North in Kurland, at Riga, and at Königsberg the higher strategic factor will have to be given due weight. Of no less importance was the coast of Esthonia for its great oil tanker works and oil refineries. Four very able military historians, Karl Kohler, Helmuth Forwick, Rudolf Kabath, and Friedrich Forstmeier, wrote the three major parts of this work, under the general editorship of Hans Meier-Welcker. Technically highly competent, the writers are very cautious in their interpretation of the moot questions of strategy on both conceptual and operational levels. Rather unusual, in terms of volume structure, and particularly because the book's main theme is the land battle, is the editor's decision to give the

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first major portion over to the order of battle and operations of Air Fleet One, the principal mission of which was to work with Army Group North. A highly dramatic element in the story is the escape of the Twenty-third Infantry Division and auxiliary units from northern Esthonia to Kurland, in Latvia, via the islands of Moon, Dago, and Osel guarding the entrance to the Gulf of Riga. The last of the three major sections of the book deals with the conduct of the battle of Prussia and the Memel and Königsberg bridgeheads as well as with the larger issues between holding the last two at all costs or breaking through to the west for a closer defense of Germany itself. To students of the war, the annexes showing orders of battle, air force missions by date and target, and important directives and orders at the end of each section of this work are extremely valuable in connection with both text and future research. A kangaroo-type pocket on the inside of the back cover contains a number of sketch maps that might more usefully have been distributed throughout the book. Sketch maps of rear-guard actions of divisions, regiments, and even battalions might have been helpful, for the history of the German Army in the last phase of the war is, after all, a history of defensive retreat. That army's rich tactical and technical experience should be preserved for study by lower units.

Norwich University ALBERT NORMAN

SAINT FRANÇOIS DE SALES AND THE PROTESTANTS. By *Ruth Kleinman.* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Number 52.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1962. Pp. 153.) The author has set out to show that St. Francis de Sales was not an innovator in his methods of converting Protestants and that he did not question the basic religious policies of contemporary governments, but even supported these policies. Through her thorough and critical investigation of the sources, she has demonstrated that St. Francis was a man of his time as regards the relations of Catholics and Protestants and that he took for granted that it was the duty of the state to use its power to preserve orthodoxy and suppress heresy. She might have emphasized, however, that, on a relative basis at least, St. Francis was much more conciliatory and charitable in his attitude toward Protestants than the great majority of his Catholic contemporaries. In this connection, the bitterness and violence of political and theological controversy on both sides might have been given more formal attention. The bishop in exile of Geneva had ample reason to be less conciliatory than he was.

Catholic University of America MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

DEUX CENTS ANS DE VIE ET D'HISTOIRE VAUDOISES: *LA FEUILLE D'AVIS DE LAUSANNE,* 1762–1962. [Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, Number 33.] (Lausanne: Librairie Payot. 1962. Pp. 418.) On the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the *Feuille d'avis de Lausanne* its editors have published a comprehensive evaluation of the rich source material contained in its archives. They and their helpers did a thorough job. It is almost unbelievable how many details they found that may appear to be rather insignificant, but nevertheless contribute to the true picture of daily life in Lausanne throughout the last two centuries. The authors brought to their task some specific qualifications. They love their subject with that typically Swiss passion for local history. From such a viewpoint nothing that has ever happened in one's own home town is unimportant. There is, of course, the danger of presenting a mere enumeration of data. Several of the authors avoided this pitfall because they were able to see things in their general context. Two examples may illustrate this statement: The first is offered by Professor Louis Junod, director of the cantonal archives, in his clever

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evaluation of events before and directly after the founding of the *Feuille d'avis* under the rule of the overlords in Berne as a mere advertisement paper. As Lausanne owes its position as the capital of the canton of Vaud to an upheaval against Berne, local Vaudois historians were expected to be rather anti-Bernese. Junod is above such polemics. He neither idealizes nor detracts from that "colonial" past, which is quite remarkable, and Junod's paper is a real challenge not to see our past by simplifying clichés. The other really refreshing part of the book is that written by Professor Paul-Louis Pelet. It presents a colorful description of economic life in Lausanne and its rural surroundings from 1762 to 1850, seen through advertisements in the *Feuille d'avis*. Several maps illustrate the places of origin of the various products recommended in the *Feuille*. Imports from other Swiss cantons were rather rare and concentrated on such specialties for the connoisseur as *lekerlets* (cookies) and a kirsch from Basel, *tabac de santé de M. Lavater* from Zürich, and *chapzigre* (sapsago) from Glarus. Local life then was self-sufficient. Even vacations were spent in the immediate neighborhood, preferably in one of the then quite numerous small balneary resorts around Lausanne that competed with each other in their alluring *Feuille d'avis* announcements. By reading Pelet's paper we see Lausanne through the eyes of a discriminating housewife of the early nineteenth century.

Washington, D. C. LUKAS F. BURCKHARDT

LA PROPRIETÀ TERRIERA E LE ORIGINI DEL RISORGIMENTO NEL BOLOGNESE. Volume I, 1789–1804. By *Renato Zangheri*. [Fonti e ricerche per la storia di Bologna.] (Bologna: Zanichelli Editore. 1961. Pp. xiv, 326.) To the list of enlightened reformers in eighteenth-century Italy, such as Tanucci in Naples, Leopold in Tuscany, and the Milanese executors of Austria's policies, must be added Pope Pius VI, who in his capacity as secular ruler attempted to modernize the administration of the Papal States. In 1780 he determined that Bologna's tax structure should be renovated and laid down the lines that the reform was to follow. Reflecting a physiocratic attitude toward the importance of land as the productive force in economic life, he decided that a new land tax was to be the only source of revenue. All existing direct and indirect levies were to be abolished, together with all feudal and ecclesiastical exemptions. The execution of his plans was entrusted to his legate in Bologna, Ignazio Cardinal Boncompagni Ludovisi, who ordered a general cadastre of all property. The new tax would be assessed on the basis of this Bolognese "domesday book." Once the Pope's plans became known, opposition among the Bolognese was widespread. From 1780 to 1796 all means were employed to prevent what the Bolognese Senate, proud of Bologna's semi-independent relationship to the papacy, considered arrogant ecclesiastical interference in the city's internal affairs. This opposition and the slowness with which work on the cadastre proceeded prevented any tax reform before the arrival of the French in 1796. Later, the cadastre and other relative materials were misplaced and misfiled. Professor Zangheri, working in the Bologna archives, found these documents, and they became the basis for his study. He has enriched it with references to Boncompagni's correspondence and additional material from the Vatican and other collections. While Pius VI's and Boncompagni's attempts at reform were unsuccessful, French policies quickly brought changes. Most noteworthy was the emergence of a nucleus of large bourgeois landlords who brought to agriculture an enterprising spirit previously unknown and an awareness of the need for modern techniques and more flexible economic and political relationships. This enterprising spirit sought ways to make the land yield more. Previously, the Bolognese had had a diversified agriculture carried out by small tenant farmers. But after 1800 the large farm,

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devoted mainly to the growing of rice, proved so profitable that more and more land was given over to it. The tenant farmer, excluded from his small plot, sank into the ranks of the day laborer. It will be interesting to follow the further evolvement of Bologna's economic life with its attendant political repercussions in Zangheri's second volume, in which he promises to carry the story to 1835. This first volume, with its lucid 151 pages of text, five appendixes, and a map of the Bolognese, is good economic history. Limited in scope, it probes deeply and shows how the thorough study of one of the parts can illuminate the whole.

Regis College EMILIANA P. NOETHER

FONTI PER LA STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO NEGLI ARCHIVI NAZIONALI DI PARIGI: I RIFUGIATI ITALIANI 1815–1830. By *Salvatore Carbone*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca scientifica. Series 2, Fonti, Volume XLIII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1962. Pp. xxi, 202.) MEMORIE ROMANE. In two volumes. By *Jan Philip Koelman*. Edited by *Maria Luisa Trebiliani*. Preface by *G. J. Hoogewerff*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca scientifica. Series 2, Fonti, Volumes XLVI and XLVII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1963. Pp. xix, 271; 277–522.) From earliest times Italy developed a unique relationship with other lands. Roman legions marched from its boundaries to conquer an empire. Later, peoples from the far corners of Europe flocked to Italy. Through the ages, this pattern has persisted. Italians have wandered abroad, seeking gain or refuge; foreigners have gone to Italy to pursue their special interests. These two books illustrate well this two-way traffic. The first, by Salvatore Carbone, is essentially a bibliographical guide to material in the Paris National Archives on early nineteenth-century Italian refugees to France. It continues the work by Baldo Peroni, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1815 nell'Archivio nazionale di Parigi* (1936). Carbone has studied all the documents for the years 1815–1830, concentrating particularly on the years 1820–1824. A veritable treasure house of information, his book analyzes and locates data on individual Italian expatriates in France so clearly that any scholar henceforth working in that area will ignore it only to his own detriment. Even a casual perusal of the summarized information illustrates the character of Italian emigration after the revolts of 1821, since the author lists all the refugees in France by name, giving their place of origin, profession, and clear archival references. Carbone is indeed to be congratulated for the painstaking research that not only locates archival material in Paris, but further indicates which documents are available in microfilm at the *Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano* in Rome. The second book, translated for the first time into Italian by Lillian Pennington De Jongh, is the diary, kept by the Dutch artist Jan Philip Koelman, who spent the years 1844–1857 in Rome, first as a student and then as a practicing painter. These were important years in Rome's history, and Koelman's memoirs present a vivid account of the events in which he and his younger brother, Jan Hendrick, also a painter, were more than spectators. Liberal in their sympathies, both fought in the volunteer corps which helped in the unsuccessful defense of Mazzini's Roman Republic. G. M. Trevelyan drew on this diary in *Garibaldi's Defense of the Roman Republic*. As a painter, Koelman, while achieving a certain amount of recognition in his own country, was not outstanding. As a writer, at least in this graceful and natural translation, Koelman revealed considerable ability and talent. Writing as a liberal citizen of Holland to whom the Roman events brought back memories of his own country's long struggle against Spain, Koelman left us an unforgettable word picture of the feelings and sentiments of an embattled citizenry. But more than the record of an unsuccessful revolution, the diary is a mine of information on the customs, attitudes, feasts, and daily living habits of nineteenth-century

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Italians. It should appeal not only to the historian but also to anyone interested in a good story.

Regis College EMILIANA P. NOETHER

A HISTORY OF THESSALONIKE. By *Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos.* Translation by *T. F. Carney* [Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν: Ἵδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, Number 63.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1963. Pp. viii, 155.) Thessalonike is an ancient European city by any standards. Founded in 316 B.C., it was named Thessalonike in honor of the sister of Alexander the Great by Cassander, who took her as his wife. In origin Thessalonike is consequently a Hellenistic city that has never lost its commercial and historical importance. Strategically situated in a most favorable geographical position in Macedonia, it joins the Balkans to the Aegean Sea. During the Byzantine period Thessalonike was second in importance only to the capital of Constantinople. In modern times Thessalonike ranks next to Athens in population and importance. The history of this famous city is a long and complicated one, primarily because not only have Greeks played an important role there, but so have Romans, Slavs, Saracens, Bulgarians, Franks, Venetians, Turks, Jews, and the Great Powers of Europe. The history of Thessalonike is bound up with that of the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, and Europe. Dr. Vacalopoulos' brief but highly readable and pertinently illustrated (with twelve plates) story draws upon the most recent historical and archaeological investigations and contains a very useful bibliography. The book covers the history of Thessalonike in three parts that comprise the major chronological divisions of its history: ancient, medieval (Byzantine), and the time from Turkish rule (1430) to the present day. Not intended as more than a general introduction to the city for the uninitiated reader, the book does its task well, in spite of its characteristically Greek nationalistic orientation and specifically Macedonian Greek flavor. From a historiographic point of view, a more objective style of writing would have been desirable.

Colgate University JOHN E. REXINE

THE WALDSTEIN WOOLEN MILL: NOBLE ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA. By *Herman Freudenberger.* [The Kress Library of Business and Economics, Publication Number 18.] (Boston: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. 1963. Pp. xi, 68. $4.00.) This tight little study is a valuable addition to our slight knowledge of the industrial enterprises established on aristocratic manors and fostered by the cameralism of the Habsburg government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It deals with a pioneer textile works operated by the enlightened Waldstein family on their country estate at Dux-Oberleutensdorf in northwest Bohemia from 1715 to 1819. It is based chiefly on a unique find of primary sources: twenty rare copper engravings of 1728 (reproduced here), which depict the factory complex and the entire wool manufacturing process, and a set of records of the enterprise for the years 1731–1775, discovered in Czechoslovakia after World War II, from which the author has reconstructed its relatively successful business history. Missing details are ingeniously interpolated from a variety of materials on wool manufacturing elsewhere. Employing over four hundred local serfs, guildsmen, and foreign specialists, the mill was noteworthy for its importation of the advanced "Dutch" method of clothmaking and the use of the little-known practice of "internal contracting" within the consolidated workshop. This clearly written monograph is an excellent advertisement for the author's forthcoming industrial history of modern Bohemia-Moravia and Czechoslovakia.

Occidental College JOSEPH F. ZACEK

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PAISII KHILENDARSKI I NEGOVATA EPOKHA (1762–1962): SBORNIK OT IZSLEDOVANIIA PO SLUCHAI 200-GODISHNINATA OT ISTORIIA SLAVIANO-BULGARSKA [Father Paisii of the Monastery of Khilendar and His Time (1762–1962): A Collection of Essays in Honor of the Bicentennial of His History of the Slavic-Bulgarian Peoples]. [Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Institutum Historicum. Studia in Honorem Ducentesimorum Anniversariorum Historiae Slavenobulgaricae Paisii Scribendae (MDCCLXII–MCMLXII).] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite. 1962. Pp. 647. 6.29 L.) Eighteen Bulgarian scholars, five of them women, evaluate Father Paisii of Khilendar, author of a history (1762) of the Slavo-Bulgarians, with essays on his ideology and the existing socioeconomic conditions, the linguistic and literary aspects of his history, and related themes. Dimitur Kosev reviews the conflicting interpretations: the bourgeois view (Penev and Drinov) depicting Paisii as the thaumaturgic restorer of national consciousness and terminator of the "dark age" of Bulgarian history; the bourgeois view (Shishmanov) of peasant risings and *haidut* (Robin Hood) actions as manifestations of a continuous protest, which, under the impact of socioeconomic change, produces a Bulgarian "renaissance"; and the recent Marxist view (Kosev) of peasants as rebels but not revolutionaries and of the contemporary local bourgeoisie as both in its swaddling clothes and divided into a well-to-do Hellenized group and a group aware of its Bulgarian nationality but economically and politically immature. For Khr. Khristov the latter was "a transitional social group," not a distinct social class. Not a dark age, the eighteenth century was a time of closer contacts with Orthodox monasteries in Russia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Voivodina, and of growth of literacy and of the keeping of business records in Bulgarian. For Virzhiniia Paskaleva it was an era of commercial capitalism but state (Ottoman) abstinence from aid to the textile industry. For Strashimir Dimitrov and Vera P. Mutafchieva, it was an era in which brigands (*kirjalis*) and municipal notables (*ayans*) transformed the feudal *Grundherrschaft* into a transitional *Gutsherrschaft* or *chiftlik* economy. Like Kosev, Mutafchieva rejects the portrayal of *ayans* and *kirjalis* as agents of French revolutionary thought and contends that resistance to the *kirjalis* failed as a war of national liberation because of the lack of a strong national ideology. Bistra Tsvetkova finds most *haidut* activity in heterogeneous Macedonia (here defined as a Bulgarian land) and northwestern Bulgaria, and most *haiduts* as members of formerly privileged groups. In art, as in social and economic life, according to Asen Vasiliev, the eighteenth century was transitional, with the painter-craftsman supplementing the *zograf daskal* (painter-teacher) or *daskal pop* (painter-teacher-priest), until, in the 1780's, secularly directed schools of art appeared in a few communities. Vasiliev's reproductions show "baroque" tendencies: decorative style, landscapes in religious art, philanthropist notables as art subjects, and a shift from fresco painting to iconostasis. This is a good, unified book.

Rutgers University TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

KREST'IANSKAIA REFORMA 1864 GODA V TSARSTVE POL'SKOM [The Peasant Reform of 1864 in the Polish Kingdom]. By *I. I. Kostiushko.* (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Press. 1962. Pp. 491.) The emancipation of peasants in the kingdom of Poland by the tsarist government in 1864 has long attracted the attention of Polish and Russian historians. The emancipation decree, linked with the whole issue of the 1863 revolution, provoked much controversy. Conservative Russian historians painted it in rosy colors; the liberals criticized the social and economic aspects of the reform; Polish historians usually put great stress on its political character. The last argued that the Russian government could not have given less than the revolutionaries

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had already offered the peasants, but that the Russian version of reform was meant to drive a wedge between the peasant and the landlord and thus undermine Polish national unity. While stressing the political implications of the reform, the Marxists have been mainly interested in its economic and social character, which they termed conservative. Kostiushko's book is a lengthy study of the emancipation reform, and, though the author admits that he was unable to exhaust all the sources and cover all the aspects of this complex issue, he has collected much material. In eight chapters the Soviet historian discusses the economic and social-political background of the reform, the Miliutin mission and proposals, the decree and its practical application, the question of land distribution, peasant struggle for land, the land tax and compensation to the landowners, and finally the issue of local government and administrative reform. He approaches the whole issue from the Marxist-Leninist position. To him the reform was above everything else a turning point in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and he appraises it accordingly. The author correctly sees the decisive influence of the revolutionary emancipation manifesto of 1863 and maintains that the tsarist regime could not have turned back the clock. His criticism of social and economic shortcomings of the reform is also largely justified, but his basic assumptions are less convincing. A "class" approach forces Kostiushko to identify the interests of the government with those of the landowners. His insistence on social aspects relegates national problems and Polish-Russian antagonism into the background. The book on the whole contributes to our knowledge of the peasant reform of 1864, but Kostiushko's framework tends to be too rigid. A final investigation of this problem still remains to be done.

Indiana University PIOTR S. WANDYCZ

HISTORICA V: HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. (Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. 1963. Pp. 324. 51 Kčs.) This volume is the fifth in a series published by the Historical Section of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which in the past has been published annually but which beginning with the current volume is to be published semiannually. The purpose of *Historica* is to present to Western scholars the more important products of Czechoslovak historical research through translation. *Historica V* contains a significantly higher percentage of articles devoted to post-World War I events than previous volumes. Bohumil Lehár, "The Economic Expansion of the *Bat'a* Concern in Czechoslovakia and Abroad (1929–1938)," contains a well-documented, though Marxist slanted, account of the extraordinary expansion on a world-wide scale of Czechoslovakia's shoemaking empire in the 1930's. This is an interesting example of the methods used by a small family to establish a virtual monopoly in a consumers' goods industry and the successful measures it took to overcome the barriers to international trade erected at the height of the protectionist era. This article, however, and some of the others in the volume are poorly edited and repetitious. V. Kural and A. Benčík, "Mouvement des partisans en Tchécoslovaquie au temps de le deuxième guerre mondiale," contains an extensive summary of a detailed study of the anti-Nazi resistance on Czechoslovak territory. In part this is the Czechoslovak historians' contribution to the history of the resistance. The study merits a detailed critical analysis which is beyond the scope of this review. Karel Kaplan's contribution, "On the Role of Dr. E. Beneš in February 1948," is interesting also primarily because of the information it presents on Communist planning during the 1948 coup. Needless to say, the role of the Soviet Union is not mentioned, even by implication. The governmental crisis was alleged to have been precipitated by anti-Communist parties. Beneš is portrayed as clearly having the interests of the anti-Communists at heart but of playing a "positive" role because he was

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sufficiently astute to recognize the hopelessness of his position. The volume also includes Ivan Hlaváček's "Die Geschichte der Kanzlei König Wenzels IV und ihre Beamten in den Jahren 1376–1419," a scholarly and detailed biographical account of those men who helped one of the more important Bohemian kings carry out his functions; Bedřich Šindelář, "Comenius und der Westfälische Friedenskongresz," an account of the Czech scholar's attempt at furthering the cause of his people at the Conference of Westphalia; and Věra Vomáčková, "Österreich und der deutsche Zollverein," an analysis of the nineteenth-century relations between the German *Zollverein* and the Habsburg Empire in the light of national and economic conflicts prevalent in Austria. A comprehensive bibliographic study of historical research in all categories published in Czechoslovakia in 1959 and 1960 completes the volume.

University of Connecticut CURT F. BECK

THE SHAPING OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK STATE: DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE BOUNDARIES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1914–1920. By *D. Perman.* [Studies in East European History, Number 7.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1962. Pp. 339. Glds. 38.) Recent additions to the community of sovereign states, such as Malaysia and Indonesia, Kenya and Somalia, or Morocco and Algeria, are engaged in frontier disputes that strike older states as trivial. Should not these new states be grateful for their existence? Must they immediately compound international tensions by creating disputes where none existed before? Some perspective on such disputes can be gained by turning one's attention to the Central Europe of half a century ago. The dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the consequent rise of the successor states were accompanied by frontier problems in comparison with which those of the newer states in Africa and Asia almost pale into insignificance. Mrs. Dagmar Horna Perman has written an outstanding scholarly study of the manner in which the Paris peace conferees reached their decisions fixing newborn Czechoslovakia's frontiers in the winter of 1918–1919. Events of the 1930's had discouraged a dispassionate examination of this subject. Even today there persists a lively controversy over the Sudetenland that is kept alive by the many Eastern European expellee scholars in West Germany. The author's scholarly and objective treatment of this subject is therefore especially praiseworthy. Her Czechoslovak origin has enabled her to utilize fully all available Czechoslovak sources, but has not prevented her from looking at the subject in an objective manner. She has made such an impressive use of archives and other sources in the Western world that her book can be considered a definitive treatment of the subject. The strength of Perman's study lies in her placing the discussions of the frontier details within the larger context of the interplay of Allied diplomacy. She explains why French rather than American wishes prevailed and how such farsighted Czechoslovak statesmen as Masaryk and Beneš had their hands tied by extreme nationalists of the Kramář type. In this light, one cannot help but reach the conclusion that, while the frontier settlement was certainly not perfect by any chosen criterion, it was, nevertheless, the most logical result under the then existing circumstances. Perman's book is based on a Ph.D. thesis submitted at the University of California (Los Angeles) in 1954. This explains why most of the quoted sources were available in the early 1950's. It is unfortunate that so many years had to pass before her thesis was made available to scholars in the field. While the footnotes are extremely numerous, they do not detract from the readability of the book. There is an excellent bibliography which should be very useful. It is, however, to be regretted that the publisher did not see fit to furnish the book with more and better maps, a particularly astonishing oversight in view of the subject matter.

University of Connecticut CURT F. BECK

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NORTHERN UNDERGROUND: EPISODES OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS THROUGH SCANDINAVIA AND FINLAND, 1863–1917. By *Michael Futrell.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. 240. $6.50.) From the time of Herzen to the time of Lenin, Russian radicals often formulated their most significant thoughts on revolution while involuntarily sojourning in Western Europe. These ideas, and the men who held them, were doomed to futility unless contact could be established and maintained with actual and potential revolutionaries in Russia. Money, and sometimes arms, joined ideas as illegal goods of trade between the two places. Professor Futrell has given us a murky look at the transmission lines that ran through the northern countries. His book is based on extensive research among both documentary and living sources. What he found is necessarily more fragmentary than he or his readers would wish, but nevertheless provides important new information about persons and activities on the revolutionary periphery. The account is concerned not only with the Russian participants but also with the socialists and nationalists from the Baltic lands who cooperated in the mission of undermining the tsarist regime. The most valuable contribution made by the study is the light—and shadows—it casts on the question of German financial support for the Bolsheviks during World War I. Regrettably, Futrell has organized and presented his material with such complexity that probably few but dedicated specialists will be attracted to the book.

Hollins College WALTER S. HANCHETT

NEAR EAST

MUSLIM INTELLECTUAL: A STUDY OF AL-GHAZALI. By *W. Montgomery Watt.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1963. Pp. viii, 214. $5.00.) Dr. Watt, already the author of solid and original books on Mohammed and early Islam, here investigates the lifework of an outstanding medieval thinker, al-Ghazali (A.D. 1058–1111), from "the general standpoint . . . of the sociology of knowledge," and so with particular attention to his influence on the "ideation" of later Moslem society. Unfortunately, it is impossible to provide an enlightening account of a thinker's social achievement without a previous detailed and accurate study of his thought itself, and this remains to be done. (The most substantial attempt so far, F. Jabre's *La notion de certitude selon Ghazali* [1958], is taken too lightly by Watt.) This book is disappointingly meager and disputable on the primary questions of an intellectual biography: What, precisely, were the subject's views on law and theology, philosophy, mysticism, and religious education at various periods of his life? On law and education almost nothing is said, though al-Ghazali's thought on them is important and surely deserves special notice in a sociological study. Still, there are many broad insights that will help the scholar who is too much absorbed in details. On the social relevance of al-Ghazali's Sufism: "Religion was no longer to be the guide of statesmen in their more far-reaching political decisions. . . . It was instead to be the spiritual aspect of the life of the individual in his social relations." The level of address lacks consistency. For the nonspecialist there is much broad background, going back five centuries from al-Ghazali, but there is no adequate presentation of his own intellectual formation or of his books in order of production. For the Islamic scholar there are those insights, but little systematic analysis of the subject's thought. It is hard enough to write a straight account of this many-sided thinker. In attempting something even more ambitious in such a short compass, the author leaves his readers unsatisfied and rather bewildered.

University of Michigan GEORGE F. HOURANI

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THE OPENING OF SOUTH LEBANON, 1788–1840: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON THE MIDDLE EAST. By *William R. Polk*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, Number 8.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xx, 299. $6.25.) The history of the Middle East, and for that matter all of Asia and Africa, in the past two hundred years is the story of the reaction of the people to the social, political, and religious institutions and to the culture and technology of the West. This phenomenon, which some historians call the "impact" or "wave" of the West, and others the now ugly name of "Western imperialism," began at different times for different peoples. The author of this volume believes that for the people of the Fertile Crescent (in the book referred to as Levant, Syria, and the Middle East interchangeably), it was the decade of 1830–1840. In other words, what the Napoleonic invasion did for Egypt as far as Westernization was concerned, the Egyptian invasion of Syria did for the people of the Levant. To present this thesis the author has chosen a small section of the already small region of Lebanon and has studied, rather exhaustively, the society before and after the "impact of the West." The first five chapters deal with the political, fiscal, social, and economic organization of Mount Lebanon. Then, after narrating the invasion in Chapter v, he goes on to explain how this affected the political, fiscal, social, and economic organization of Mount Lebanon. To me the key is found in Chapter vii on the "Growth of Public Security." It is quite evident that the Egyptian invasion of 1832 could not be considered a "wave" of the West. They had not had time to absorb much of the West themselves and could not have taken much of it to others. As the author recognizes, there were the French, the British, and the American missionaries before and after the coming of the Egyptians. What the Egyptians had of their own, however, they took into Lebanon. This was the indigenous Egyptian custom which "regarded public security as a first requirement of government." Establishing public security in a society that for centuries had adapted itself to lack of it "was the crux of the Egyptian impact upon Syrian society." It overturned the soil and made it possible for the seeds of Western civilization to grow. Significant in this volume, for those interested in research on Lebanon, is the exhaustive bibliography of primary sources, memoirs, chronicles, and other studies in Arabic, English, and French. This volume is very useful for historians interested in the impact of the West on the Arab world, and for sociologists interested in the process of social change in that area. Students of modern Lebanon will detect in this volume some of the causes for the present-day religious rivalries and will meet the equally energetic ancestors of the present-day Shihabs and Junblats. The author has succeeded in developing his thesis and has contributed a significant volume to the "Harvard Middle Eastern Studies."

Macalester College YAHYA ARMAJANI

AFRICA

CREOLEDOM: A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREETOWN SOCIETY. By *Arthur T. Porter*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 151. $3.40.) Historical sociology is rare indeed in the historiography of Africa during the colonial period. For this reason alone, Professor Porter's study of Freetown society over the past 175 years would be a welcome pioneering work. It shows how much (beyond the dry-as-dust studies of colonial policy) can be made to emerge from the European archives and European accounts of Africa, merely by asking new questions of familiar sources. The focus of the study is necessarily narrow, centered on the relatively small group of Negro Americans who settled in Sierra Leone and made it, for more than a century, the principal outpost of Western culture in tropical Africa. Porter, however, is

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not concerned with the broader impact of this settlement on African culture, but, rather, with the process by which successive groups of immigrants were assimilated into the class structure in Freetown itself. Roughly half the book is devoted to a historical survey of the formation of the Creole elite, its rise to power in the later nineteenth century, and its decline in competition with new men with roots in "tribal" Africa. The second half of the work is an analysis of social stratification. Here the author is concerned with the factors that carried Freetown society from a predominantly closed system of social stratification in the early nineteenth century to a predominantly open system in later periods. It has important implications for the study of acculturation in other parts of Africa, and especially among the elites that have risen to political power during the postcolonial period.

University of Wisconsin PHILIP D. CURTIN

THE DIARIES OF LORD LUGARD. Volume IV, NIGERIA, 1894–5 AND 1898. Edited by *Margery Perham* and *Mary Bull*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1963. Pp. 444. $7.50.) This volume concludes the publication of Lord Lugard's African diaries, which began with the three volumes issued in 1959. While the first three dealt with Lugard's activities in East Africa, the present volume deals entirely with his activities in the territory that later became Nigeria. Lugard was present there on two separate occasions before the establishment of crown control. The first was the period from July 1894 to April 1895, the time of Anglo-French competition for Borgu. The second, from March to June 1898, covers Lugard's activities, mainly on the Niger, as commander of the West African Frontier Force. While these diaries stop before the later and more important phase of Lugard's Nigerian career, they are significant for the intimate and candid insight they give into the private thoughts of an imperialist of the 1890's.

University of Wisconsin PHILIP D. CURTIN

EGYPT IN REVOLUTION: AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. By *Charles Issawi*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 343. $7.20.) Charles Issawi's third attempt to present an economic analysis of modern Egypt will serve once again as an indispensable guide to the scholarly world. His earlier works, *Egypt: An Economic and Social Analysis* (1947) and *Egypt at Mid-Century* (1954), were important studies. The latter work was widely read and referred to, rightly considered to be a classic in its field. The present work deals in considerable detail with the crucial economic developments in Egypt since 1952. After examining the evolution of the Egyptian economy since the Age of Mohammed Ali, the author sets forth the major alterations in the economy under Egypt's new military regime. In essence the Nasser government has transformed the Egyptian economy from a largely free enterprise economy with vast inequalities in income distribution and with relatively large-scale foreign control to a "totalitarian socialist state." The nationalizations and sequestrations transferred the main branches of the economy to the hands of the government. Issawi clearly indicates the way in which the military regime was driven by its own goals and by the exigencies of external events to increasingly more radical economic and political programs. It seems unlikely that these men had a clear-cut economic philosophy when they came to power. In the first years of rule from 1952 to 1956 the government proceeded in an orthodox fashion to restore economic stability and to develop productivity. In the author's estimation a series of external political events, beginning in 1955–1956 with the heightening of tension in the Middle East, occasioned the radicalization of Egypt's economic policies. Issawi has collected a considerable amount of information from the admittedly

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difficult and relatively unreliable Egyptian sources. His chapters on agriculture, national income, industry, communications, foreign trade, and finance contain a wealth of statistical information that is not to be found in any other single work of reference. The author has perhaps done less with his material in places than he might. He fails at times to understand the spirit of the new regime and treats its programs with undue severity. But, in total, this work is excellent and will doubtlessly be a standard guide for the understanding of modern Egypt.

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

ASIA AND THE EAST

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HISTORIANS OF ASIA, SECOND BIENNIAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 6–9, 1962, HELD AT TAIWAN PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, TAIPEI, TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA. PROCEEDINGS. ([Taipei: the Association.] n.d. Pp. xxviii, 826, 252.) This new association met first in Manila in November 1960. The second meeting, in Taipei, was attended by some one hundred Chinese scholars and fifty from Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, South Vietnam, Malaya, the Rhyukyus, Singapore, Hong Kong, Macao, the United States, Australia, Canada, and Portugal—a truly international representation. This large, handsome volume presents fifty papers in English and sixteen in Chinese. The editorial committee in Taipei is to be congratulated on making them available with such celerity and careful proofreading. (Regrettably, there is no index.) As is inevitable in membership gatherings, some papers are brief and ephemeral reports or discussions, or summaries of work better available elsewhere, but the majority are substantial contributions. Almost imperceptibly and without conscious effort, they portray the vitality of the new frontier of international history (and prehistory) in East and Southeast Asia. This vitality appears at once in the lead article, Dr. Li Chi's evocative reflections on forty years of Chinese anthropology and archaeology. *Inter alia,* he decries the Western tradition of "holistic characterization" of Chinese civilization, a parochialism, I may add, still exemplified in the impossible label "China specialist." Even a China specialist, if procurable, could not evaluate all these papers, while simply listing them here would convey little. Anthropology and archaeology are strongly represented in such topics as the Eurasian diffusion of musical scales studied mathematically, a comparison of wood carving motifs around the Pacific, and the extensive new excavations on the River Kwai. Several papers are on the Liu-ch'iu (Ryukyu) Islands and their important records now available. Another group are on China's foreign trade and migration. Two papers deal with the expansion of Islam in Southeast Asia, and others with Borneo, Malacca, the Philippines, and Macao. Another series is on cities: Singapore, Bangkok, Hong Kong. Most of these articles bear in one way or another on international relations, mainly premodern if not indeed prehistoric. Many pose problems for further work. All this is in addition to studies on topics in older established fields of Chinese history, such as the Six Dynasties figure Hsieh Ling-yün and Buddhism, medieval academies, Han Yü as a historian, the "Chinese cities" (*Han ch'eng*) under the Khitan, the official class in Ming and Ch'ing. There are studies in historical geography, one on Peking in the late Ming, another on early American interest in Taiwan. While the quality is naturally uneven, the stimulus to research that these papers provide is very considerable. The archaeological record is just beginning to be unearthed; great opportunities await the anthropologist. Both disciplines, as Li Chi argues, have much to offer the historian, who needs "to supplement his documentary study with some direct observations," using the requisite spoken languages. The interplay of historical

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relations in East and Southeast Asia sparkles in these pages from many angles, and the International Association of Historians of Asia is clearly performing an important function.

Harvard University JOHN K. FAIRBANK

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES. By *Kalikinkar Datta.* (2d rev. ed.; Calcutta: World Press Private. 1963. Pp. xx, 249. Rs. 20.) In this authoritative account of Alivardi and his times, Kalikinkar Datta has utilized important and illuminating sources: records of European trading companies, chronicles in the Persian language, and contemporary Bengali literature. His achievement lies in his thorough examination of Alivardi's rise to power and his strenuous activity as nawab of Bengal (1740–1756) in checking Maratha invasions and curbing his seditious Afghan subordinates. Alivardi's character is fully exposed: able and ambitious, a competent administrator and valiant general, he was still a Machiavellian. He had dangerous subordinates assassinated; he checked a Maratha invasion by having its leader and his generals perfidiously massacred at a peace conference; he seized power in 1740 similarly, showing the sort of boldness and treachery that, Datta believes, was the model for Britain's overthrow of Alivardi's grandson and heir at Plassey. In concluding his study, Datta offers several informative chapters on the economic, social, and cultural environment of Alivardi's age. Datta is convinced that India's decline and debasement began then. This is a troublesome thesis and is not self-evident from the information presented. Datta complains of the "vitiated taste" of the literature (the debased result of Machiavellian politics), but he offers no comprehensive or comparative analysis of the literature on which to establish this contention. At the time, education flourished, and traditional literary activity was widespread. Datta likewise believes that Bengal's agriculture and manufacturing started permanent decline then, as the result of Maratha invasions. This suggestion needs thoughtful empirical examination. Actually, one might appropriately discern within the traditional society some declining, static, and flourishing features of the culture, for India's eighteenth-century civilization was intricate and cannot be explained merely in terms of decline.

Bowdoin College GEORGE D. BEARCE

CHINA ON THE EVE OF THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER. By *A. Doak Barnett.* [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 130.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. xii, 371. $6.95.) With the exception of the preface and introduction this volume was written about fifteen years ago. Its author was in China from 1947 to 1949 as a journalist and a fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs, to which organization he sent reports on developments in China. Twenty-three of these reports, given only very limited circulation at the time, are now brought together as a book, without rewriting except for "a considerable amount of cutting, as well as some stylistic polishing." As the author points out, the book "is not, and does not purport to be, either a history or an exhaustive analysis," but it nevertheless may be of interest and value to historians who are concerned with this important stage of the Chinese revolution. The first nine reports add up to an account of "the process of political, economic and social disintegration that took place on Nationalist-held China during 1946–49 at a headlong pace," as revealed by samplings of Chinese opinion and behavior in a number of major Chinese cities between November 1947 and December 1948. The longest piece in the book is a relatively detailed examination of the economic, social, and political structure and conduct of the Hsieh-mahsiang region in Szechuan as of June 1948, which serves as an illustration of stagnation in the countryside. There are ten reports dealing with border areas, including, for example,

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discussions of Shansi under Yen Hsi-shan, Chinese Turkestan, and the Moslem area in the northwest. The volume concludes with three reports from Peking in 1949, after the Communist takeover. The writing meets a high standard of current events reporting. Barnett does not attempt to be a prophet or a propagandist, but he traveled widely and used available sources of information intelligently; the resulting reports are comprehensive and judicious. The specialists who received these reports at the time thereby had access to thoughtful and informed estimates of the state of Chinese society at a critical moment. In most cases contemporary journalistic comments on major crises would not merit resurrection in book form years later, but *China on the Eve of the Communist Takeover* is an exception to the rule.

Mount Holyoke College MERIBETH E. CAMERON

THE FLYING TROIKA: EXTRACTS FROM A DIARY BY K. P. S. MENON, INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA, 1952–61. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 330. $7.00.) This superficial summary of post-Stalin Soviet history contains neither behind-the-scenes information nor penetrating comment of the kind that has so often turned the diary of an envoy to Russia into a vital scholarly source. The book is worth reading only in so far as the author's asides reflect Indian neutralist mentality, particularly with respect to the thaw in the cold war. In that view, all that is Asian or African is sweetness and light, except for Pakistan, renegade to the side of imperialism, which languishes in outer darkness. *Satyagraha,* Gandhi's successful credo for a subject people, becomes the scale upon which international morality is weighed, as the banner of nonviolence is carried proudly into the arena of world politics. Thus, anything that sounds like peace is good; whatever smacks of militarism is bad. Nehru is "wise, acute, piquant." The Kremlin leaders, after Stalin's death, are generally well intentioned; fervent imperialist Churchill, although "often blind . . . to the realities of Asia," is quick to sense their honesty of purpose. Emerging Soviet chieftain Khrushchev reveals himself to be a man without malice. Eisenhower is a man of peace and honor, but he is constantly being thwarted, and indeed duped, by the sanctimonious blackguard John Foster Dulles, excoriation of whose obtuse anti-Communist crusade, impatience with neutralism, and reference to divine inspiration runs through this otherwise gently toned narration like a purple thread. A postscript, written on December 5, 1962, admits that the "Chinese attack has given India a sharp lesson in power politics" and notes that the day has not yet arrived when the power of love, as Gandhi believed, can ward off invasion. Menon cites from Kautilya, India's "Machiavelli," who defined an enemy "2,200 years ago 'as that State which is situated on the border of one's own State.'" "But," he adds, "the apparent success of our foreign policy, especially with the U.S.S.R., made us forget the wisdom of Kautilya." Menon is happy, however, that India's adherence to nonalignment did not "stand in the way of the Western powers rendering [it] every assistance."

City College of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

U NU OF BURMA. By *Richard Butwell.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 301. $7.50.) In this vivid, well-balanced picture of one of the most significant and attractive figures of free Asia, Dr. Butwell has deftly unraveled the tangled skein of Burma's postindependence politics and the personal rivalries that led to the fateful split in the governing coalition in 1958 and paved the way for Left-wing authoritarian military rule today. He assigns due blame for this to Nu's personal failings: the piety and loyalty to questionable followers, which sometimes stultified his political shrewdness; his ignorance of, and interference with, administration; the contradiction between a real humility and determination to keep power in his own

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hands. One further weakness Butwell could have stressed was the politicians' suspicion of the numerous Burmese officials whom the British in fact trained and who (in contrast to India) were so often replaced by half-educated novices of village mentality with little comprehension of the plans for the new Burma. Yet he bears impressive witness to the unique personal hold over his countrymen that Nu has established through his disarming simplicity and common touch. Even the failings that made Nu an inefficient ruler have endeared him as a father figure to the Burmese. The army leaders know that they cannot hope to compete with Nu in popular regard, particularly considering Burmese ingrained distaste for regimentation of their kind. By keeping Nu imprisoned until 1964, when his mandate as Prime Minister runs out, they hope he will be forgotten. My six recent years in Burma confirm the assumption that this is false. Butwell also suggests that the role fate assigned to Nu was too big for him and that some different future role may suit him better. One could wish he had pursued further this speculation which has so occupied all Western observers in Burma. Butwell would agree, I believe, that the military regime is too un-Burmese to last in its present form, and that, if its leader were removed or again renounced power, Nu could dominate the country if he wished. If he did not—and the regime were not meanwhile too deeply embroiled with Communist elements—Nu's old Socialist rivals, Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein, stiffened perhaps by their former colleague, the recently discarded former Brigadier Aung Gyi, could once again give Burma the moderate Socialism for which Nu worked so long, leaving him free at last to seek the spiritual fulfillment he desires.

University of Cincinnati RICHARD ALLEN

AMERICAS

THE NATIVE PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE NEW WORLD. By *Pedro Armillas.* [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, Number 108. Program of the History of America, Volume I. Publication Number 265.] (México, D. F.: the Instituto. 1962. Pp. xxxii, 201.) With the publication of Pedro Armillas' volume on Indian society in America from its origins to its submergence in the Europeanized countries of today, the Commission of History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History has succeeded in fulfilling the second phase of its plan for a comparative history of the Americas. The first step was the preparation of nineteen small volumes, with supplements, suggesting outlines for the history and assembling bibliographies. The second step has been the summarizing and emendation of the preliminary volumes in three more, the one by Armillas, a second by Silvio Zavala on the colonial period, and a third by Charles Griffin on the national period. The last to be issued, that by Armillas, is, however, logically first in the series. It therefore has prefaces by Zavala and Howard Cline and an introduction by Armillas, which give the necessary history and explanation of the project. In undertaking his part of the task, Armillas was forced to decide between attempting a general text, which he judged not possible in the present state of studies, or preparing a more technical work that would suggest ingredients for such a text and the materials now available. Armillas has opted for the latter alternative. Accordingly, he has divided the history of the American Indians into fifty themes, organized in ten chapters, eight on pre-Columbian and two on post-Columbian periods. The chapters are the normal ones: "American Origins," "Pre-Agricultural Stage," "Origins of Agriculture," "Proto-Agricultural Stage," "Origins of the American Native Civilizations," and so on. The themes are presented as subdivisions within most chapters and are accompanied by short

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comments and some bibliography. Development varies widely from theme to theme. A work of this kind, representing a way station on a long road, is inevitably of greatly uneven value from page to page. Its major use would seem to be as a summary of the thinking of many experts in the field as of the middle 1950's.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

PERSPECTIVES IN AMERICAN CATHOLICISM. By *John Tracy Ellis.* [Benedictine Studies, Number 5.] (Baltimore: Helicon. 1963. Pp. 313. $6.00.) Monsignor Ellis, an editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* and professor at the Catholic University of America, has brought together twenty-three essays, reviews, articles, and sermons he has prepared over the past decade. He is as painstaking in documenting a baccalaureate address as he was in his famous review of Stokes's *Church and State in the United States,* and he allows himself no more looseness of argument in speaking to Irishmen about Irish-American history than he does in writing in *Harper's* on the "American Catholic Tradition" of separation of church and state. Most scholars will find this volume instructive not so much for new information or new arguments, however, as for the demonstration it gives of the possibilities of religious history, a field in which denominational self-glorification, if not downright pious fiction, predominates. Ellis is able to write admiringly of the accomplishments of the American Church, without minimizing the vigor with which Catholic leaders at times disagreed with each other and without overlooking such persistent problems as an underdeveloped intellectual life and a lack of lay initiative and freedom. Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta, in a useful foreword, points out that to be a good historian of one's own group requires courage. Ellis may not be wholly persuasive when he tells a graduating class that the study of history develops courage in the student, but he has himself clearly acquired a fair measure of it.

Columbia University ROBERT D. CROSS

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, DISCOVERER AND PLANTER: NEW ENGLAND —1602, VIRGINIA—1607. By *Warner F. Gookin.* With footnotes and a concluding part by *Philip L. Barbour.* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1963. Pp. xiii, 271. $8.00.) If textbooks and scholarly monographs on early American history are consulted, one may appropriately ask with the author of this work: "Who was Bartholomew Gosnold?" Only brief references are found associating him with an expedition in 1602 to New England and the naming of Cape Cod, and to the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, where he served on the first appointed council until his death from sickness on August 22, 1607. Efforts to fill this vacuum by Warner F. Gookin, New England "clergyman and amateur historian," were near completion at the time of his death in 1952. His manuscript lay unpublished in the library of the Dukes County Historical Society in Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, until Philip L. Barbour found it by chance in 1959. As editor he has completed the study, adding documentation in notes and a concluding section on Gosnold as "Prime Mover of the Jamestown Colony." Two parts of this study seem most significant. One is the identification of Gosnold's family background and his English associates, including his relationship with Sir Thomas Smythe, the Earl of Southampton, Captain Edward Hayes, and Richard Hakluyt. The other is the detailed analysis of the routes of discovery by Gosnold in 1602 as he moved south from Cape Cod to Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. The author and editor, however, are too much inclined to give "historical imagination the reins" and to "spin a gossamer tale" even though aware "how unsubstantial are some of the threads used in the

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weaving." This study does make clear that Gosnold played a more important role than previously recognized in the promotion and organization of the Virginia colony, but additional evidence is needed before we can accept as valid the editor's endorsement of John Smith's suggestion that Gosnold was "the first mover" of Jamestown.

University of Kansas W. Stitt Robinson

JOHN CLAYTON: PIONEER OF AMERICAN BOTANY. By *Edmund Berkeley* and *Dorothy Smith Berkeley*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 236. $6.00.) John Clayton of Virginia, whose collaboration with J. F. Gronovius of Leiden on the *Flora Virginica* produced the finest botanical work to deal with the British colonies in North America in the eighteenth century, has been the most neglected major figure in early American natural history. This neglect is now remedied by the Berkeleys, who have found a surprising quantity of materials relating to their subject in the papers of Clayton's American, English, and European correspondents. The Norton papers of Colonial Williamsburg have yielded a particularly rich lode of information on John Clayton's style of life, even if they have revealed little about his personality. The authors make a convincing case in assigning to Clayton a greater share in the authorship of the first edition of the *Flora Virginica* than has usually been allowed him, thus rescuing him from the stigma of being a mere plant collector. At the same time, they have separated Clayton's own revision, which was never published, from the second edition of the *Flora,* which Gronovius' son, Laurens Theodore, published in 1762. Of the former, only a brief outline made by John Ellis and presented as an appendix to this study has survived the nearly complete loss of Clayton's own papers. I regret that the authors, as biologists, have devoted so little space to their own evaluation of Clayton's place and that of the *Flora Virginica* in eighteenth-century botany. They have, nevertheless, brought together as much as can probably be known about their subject and, in doing this, have given a useful account of the Anglo-American natural history circle from the time of John Ray to that of Sir Joseph Banks.

University of Delaware George F. Frick

GEORGE MERCER OF THE OHIO COMPANY: A STUDY IN FRUSTRATION. By *Alfred Procter James*. ([Pittsburgh, Pa.:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1963. Pp. 96. $2.95.) Issued as a companion volume to the *George Mercer Papers* (1954) and Mr. James's own *The Ohio Company: Its Inner History* (1959), this study furnishes additional information about George Mercer, who served as agent of the Ohio Company in London from 1763 to 1770. It has much less value than either of the two other books, in part because its subject was not a figure of first importance and in part because so little can be discovered about him. This book recounts the familiar facts: Mercer was a Virginia planter's son, a friend and aid to George Washington in the French and Indian War, a distributor of stamps in Virginia in 1765, a member and agent of the Ohio Company of Virginia, and a British pensioner who may have been put to gathering intelligence about Americans in France during the Revolution. These external facts are intriguing, but little more of reliability is known of Mercer, despite James's diligence in attempting to track down his day-to-day movements. Not only does Mercer's personality remain elusive, but so also do his mind and character, and, more importantly, most of the details about his performance as agent of the Ohio Company. Phrased in a gun-metal prose, James's speculations about his biographee, based on Mercer's portrait and a few comments by contemporaries, do not help the reader find his way to understanding.

University of California, Berkeley Robert Middlekauff

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THE ORIGINS OF HAMILTON'S FISCAL POLICIES. By *Donald F. Swanson.* [University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number 17.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Pp. 87. $2.00.) In a small and comprehensive volume, Mr. Swanson discusses the old problem of the origin of Alexander Hamilton's fiscal policies. He examines and discards both extreme theses that Hamilton's measures were either his original inventions or copies of English models; he then summarizes English fiscal policies, especially in connection with the funding system, Bank of England, and the sinking fund from 1688 to the opening of the nineteenth century; he reviews the American precedents for Hamilton's fiscal policies from 1775 to 1789 and then analyzes Hamilton's measures. Swanson concludes that the standard arguments on the origin of Hamilton's policies are not well founded and should be abandoned. In their place he advances his own thesis: quoting a 1779 statement by Hamilton that mankind is led more by "sounds and appearances" than by realities, Swanson believes that Hamilton purposely used "symbols of orthodoxy," such as the bank, the sinking fund, and the funding system, in order to give the "appearance" of similarity to British policies. Thus, he asserts, Hamilton actually pursued many more objectives through the application of these "symbols of orthodoxy," objectives characterized by an original and sound utilization of economic experience for the solution of American problems. Swanson's thesis is rather a hypothesis and an ingenious one—if he could only bring forth a letter, statement, debate, or some kind of documentation showing that Hamilton really intended to create merely the appearance of similarity with established British policies. This monograph otherwise is well written and offers an excellent summary and appraisal of Hamilton's fiscal policies and their background; it will be useful to students of the period.

San Jose State College E. P. PANAGOPOULOS

JEFFERSON ON RELIGION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. By *Robert M. Healey.* [Yale Publications in Religion, Number 3.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 294. $6.50.) This study is an orderly and topically comprehensive exploration of Jefferson's views on religion, public education, and freedom. It is also a critique of the Jeffersonian ideal of the wall of separation between church and state and the freedom of public education from religious instruction. The burden of the critique is that Jefferson gave evidence of "missionary zeal" in his campaign to bring about the condition of free inquiry. Although Jefferson was supposedly merely protesting that he cherished the rights of others to freedom of opinion, he was in truth "guilty of exactly what he accused the early Christians of doing: adulterating and sophisticating his doctrine with artificial constructions." Jefferson, in fighting against fanatical, dogmatic, and divisive sectarianism, was surreptitiously working to foist his own "Sect." The author finds confirmation for many fundamental beliefs in Jefferson's philosophy of public education. Still valid, he believes, are the political faith in democracy as the only form of government not eternally at war with the rights of mankind and the accompanying faith that no people can hope to remain both free and ignorant. Today, he argues, it is more urgent than ever that men should realize that education is "too powerful a weapon to be left to chance and must become the constant concern of all who wish to remain free." Not valid are "Linnaean biology, Lockean psychology, and the moral sense theory." In his view, moreover, modern psychology has taught that all people have "their share of irrationalities and emotional maladjustments," and therefore it is groundless to maintain that "one irrationality ruins the mind"—an irrationality he identifies as Jefferson's "sweeping generalization that supernaturalists become tyrants and materialists become benefactors to all mankind." This is, of course, a loose and misleading representation of what Jefferson believed about the warfare of

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supernatural, revealed truth with unhampered freedom of inquiry. Asserting that democracy is a moral enterprise, the author insists that each citizen "*must* have, first, a sense of commitment, a sense of loyalty or final responsibility to a supreme value, principle, or source of law, to an ideal transcending himself, his nation, and any other particular local or temporal interest bidding for his support. This should be the motivation behind *all* his actions [italics mine]." In plain words, democracy depends upon belief in God, and morality is impossible without theology. This is dogmatic absolutism, and it is historically an unwarranted statement of what makes democracies function and of the nature of moral choice. Despite these apodictic judgments, there is merit in the sharpening of issues that emerges from the author's sense of commitment and concern. There is merit too in his stubborn attempt to bring together Jefferson's views on religion, public education, and freedom. He has by no means broken through the conventional round of secondary works on Jefferson to fresh sources, or even to the careful use of primary sources in print, but he has essayed to define and appraise the import of Jefferson's most persistently cited beliefs. The value of this study, therefore, is not its scholarship, nor its intellectual power in grasping the meaning of Jefferson's thought truly. Its value lies rather in its provocations.

University of California, Berkeley ADRIENNE KOCH

ANTI-FEDERALISM IN DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK: A STUDY OF DEMOCRACY AND CLASS CONFLICT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA. By *Staughton Lynd*. [William P. Lyons Master's Essay Award 1961.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 126. $3.00.) A perennial plea among historians is for more case studies designed to test "experimentally" some of our favorite historical generalizations. Staughton Lynd's *Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York*, is just such a study. Lynd's primary concern is to discover the precise relationship, if any, between economic interest, social class, and Antifederalism. His technique is to study in detail the social and economic structure and the political experience of a single county over roughly a generation. He concludes that in Dutchess County the Federalist party drew most of its support from a small group of landowning aristocrats and their dependents, while Antifederalist strength rested largely on a coalition of small farmers, many of whom had once been tenants, and a group of lesser gentry and Poughkeepsie merchants. Moreover, "The same economic groups, to a striking extent the same leaders [had] confronted each other in the tenants' rising of 1766, [and] in the struggle during the Revolution over the confiscation and sale of Loyalist lands. . . ." Lynd considers and discards a number of alternative explanations for Antifederalist strength. He finds no significant Tory influence in the Federalist party—the leaders of both sides were active Whigs during the Revolution—and, although the Antifederalists had the greater share of state patronage, the Federalists were not excluded from office. Neither group, moreover, depended on political office for its livelihood. It was the deep suspicions of Dutchess County farmers toward the large Federalist landowners, suspicions rooted in long and bitter experience, that produced Antifederalist voters.

Smith College STANLEY ELKINS

BLACK UTOPIA: NEGRO COMMUNAL EXPERIMENTS IN AMERICA. By *William H. Pease* and *Jane H. Pease*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1963. Pp. ix, 204. $4.00.) In the age of egalitarianism, the American Negro had to face the problem of survival in a hostile white society. Though many Negroes grudgingly resigned themselves to an inferior status, a bold and persistent few sought to demonstrate that environmental factors, not inherent racial traits, accounted for their degrada-

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tion, and that in a significantly altered environment Negroes could prove their fitness for citizenship. *Black Utopia* is the story of several such attempts to demonstrate the Negro's capacity for improvement by incorporating him into separate communities. Varying in size, structure, and results, from the ill-fated Ohio manumission camps to the more complex and successful Canadian and Port Royal settlements, these experiments in communal living tended to share the same middle-class outlook and values. Most of them also proved to be short lived. The authors have attributed the eventual collapse of the communities to inadequate direction and financial support, the persistence of white hostility, the middle-class nature of the experiments, and the underlying failure of the communitarians to grapple with the realities of the race problem. Significant, too, was the indifference evinced by most abolitionists, who, the authors insist, indulged in moralizing cant when they should have been preparing the Negro to adjust to his new role as a freeman; the Garrisonians in particular are scolded for wanting to turn the Negro loose in white society to fend for himself. Though not entirely invalid, this indictment tends to assign a higher value to societal adjustment than to human freedom (reflecting perhaps a contemporary bias); more seriously, it slights the persistent efforts of abolitionists to achieve equal rights in the North, to strike down repressive race legislation, and to challenge the prevailing white man's image of the Negro. Unfortunately, as the authors are forced to admit, the communitarians never realized that what they were doing was essentially irrelevant, that "the adjustment of the Negro to white society and, indeed, the adjustment of white society to the equal presence and participation of the Negro could not, by any logic, be achieved by a conscious segregation of Negro from white." The abolitionists would have agreed; indeed, the support that many of them were to give to the confiscation of Confederate estates and the distribution of land among the freedmen indicated a more fundamental understanding of the nature of "the Negro problem" than most of their contemporaries.

University of Wisconsin LEON F. LITWACK

FLOWERING OF THE CUMBERLAND. By *Harriette Simpson Arnow*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. xviii, 441. $6.95.) In 1960 Mrs. Arnow, who is also a successful novelist, published *Seedtime on the Cumberland*, a historical study of the settlement of the Cumberland River Valley. This present volume continues her story, not in time, for the period is the same (1780–1803), but in depth. Here she systematically describes, along with other aspects of frontier life, the family, the place of women, the education, the amusements, the language, and the economic activities of the settlers once they had transformed forest into society. Her account is drawn almost exclusively from a voluminous body of diverse sources and is expressed in lucid and sometimes eloquent prose. Of especial interest to social historians is her successful attempt to give proper attention to pioneer women as independent persons, respected as such by men. (Rachel Jackson, for example, gets the credit for whatever financial success Andrew achieved.) Economic historians will similarly find valuable her depiction of the rise and decline of cotton cultivation in middle Tennessee in this period. But in spite of the persistent and intelligent labor Arnow has lavished upon the early history of her beloved native region, her story has a decidedly amateurish air. For one thing there is a romanticizing of the life of the frontier people that is happily absent from books of the same genre by professional historians, such as Buley's *Old Northwest* and Dick's *Dixie Frontier*. Again and again Arnow contrasts what she obviously considers the superior life of the pioneers with ours today. Moreover, she carries these contrasts to such lengths that a critical reader must doubt that the differences were so sharp or the superiority of one era so consistent as she asserts.

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Thus the straightforwardness of the pioneers is compared to modern euphemisms and conformity. The intellectual fare of the early settlers she finds "sturdier," and the time and money spent on books greater than those expended by the average American today. In the Cumberland region there was no hatred of other people, not even of Indians or Negroes, only hatred of individuals, who by their acts had proved they merited it. "Middle Tennessee," she concludes, ". . . looks around 1800 like a dream of democracy come true. . . ." Another sign of amateurishness is her defensiveness about the South, which causes her to make a number of dubious, invidious comparisons with New England. Even Eli Whitney's traditional part in the invention of a practical cotton gin is questioned on the ground that unnamed southerners constructed such devices long before the Connecticut Yankee visited Georgia. In at least one place, in the course of depreciating New England, she seems not only to misread her source on the custom of bundling in the North, but denies bundling was practiced on the southern frontier. Yet Dick reported it as common in the very period and area with which she deals. In another place Arnow concludes that girls marry earlier today than then without even mentioning the opposite conclusion drawn by Dick from his review of the sources. This apparent disregard of the secondary literature is more than a further indication of the amateurish quality of the book. It arouses doubts as to the accuracy of her other conclusions, all of which are the result of too much hard work in original materials to be thus needlessly called into question.

Vassar College CARL N. DEGLER

DAVID THOMPSON'S NARRATIVE, 1784–1812: A NEW EDITION WITH ADDED MATERIAL. Edited with an introduction and notes by *Richard Glover*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume XL.] (Toronto: the Society. 1962. Pp. cii, 410.) Unquestionably, one of the most outstanding men to contribute to the geographic knowledge of the North American continent was David Thompson, a contemporary of such famous explorers as Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, Philip Turnor, and Peter Fidler. *Thompson's Narrative,* based upon his journals which cover more than a quarter of a century, has long been known, having been edited by the eminent surveyor and historian, Joseph Burr Tyrrell, in 1916 for the Champlain Society. A new edition of the *Narrative* was published in 1962 by the Champlain Society; it includes for the first time the recently discovered "Saskatchewan chapter" and is ably edited by Richard Glover, long known as an outstanding student of the Canadian fur trade, and, more especially, of the history of the Northwest Company. Glover should be congratulated for his sixty-two-page introduction, which is an enlightening and unvarnished treatise on the life and times of David Thompson which corrects, corroborates, and interprets the Thompson journal through the use of contemporary diaries and his breadth of knowledge, and for his inclusion of Thompson's itinerary for the period 1785–1812, which greatly facilitates the reading of this excellent volume.

Sacramento State College GLORIA GRIFFEN CLINE

ABEL PARKER UPSHUR: CONSERVATIVE VIRGINIAN, 1790–1844. By *Claude H. Hall*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1963. Pp. v, 271. $5.50.) Abel Parker Upshur, as his biographer Claude H. Hall writes of him, was "born too late (1790) to influence the nation's formative years, he died too early (1844) to prevent the drift toward Civil War." As a politician he was so ultraconservative, however, that had he appeared earlier it would doubtless have been in the guise of a Tory, and had he lived longer his southern extremist views could only have aggravated the sectional split. This comfortable and stodgy tidewater planter, lawyer, and jurist from Virginia's

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Eastern Shore would have been quite well satisfied to live his allotted term without desiring higher office. He enjoyed his small plantation, "Vaucluse," with its seventeen slaves and the leisure it gave him to write conservative political tracts for the times. Two deaths, however, changed the even tenor of his way. The death of President Harrison elevated his college friend and fellow Virginian John Tyler into the White House, and Tyler chose Upshur to be his Secretary of the Navy. In this cabinet post Upshur won modest fame as a reformer. The moribund naval establishment was still suffering from the republic's early distrust of military organizations, although "manifest destiny" expansionism was now sweeping the country. For greater efficiency in the Navy Department, Upshur replaced the antiquated Board of Navy Commissioners with a series of bureaus (Navy Yards and Docks; Construction, Equipment and Repairs; Provisions and Clothing; Ordnance; Hydrography; and Medicine and Surgery), each under a senior naval officer. When the Whig dominated Congress appropriated money to build ships, but withheld the funds necessary to operate them, Upshur used the wholesale discharge of navy yards workers as a lever to pry out of Congress the largest peacetime appropriation up to that day. A second death, that of Secretary of State Hugh S. Legare, opened the way for Upshur's final promotion to the highest post in the cabinet. From July 24, 1843, until the following February 12, when Upshur met his own end in the explosion of an experimental gun during ceremonies on board the U.S.S. *Princeton,* the State Department was moving toward a settlement with Great Britain of the Oregon dispute and toward the annexation by the United States of the newly independent state of Texas. Upshur, it appears in Hall's account, was making quiet but steady progress in these matters when the *Princeton* disaster occurred.

Annapolis, Maryland RICHARD S. WEST, JR.

THE EMERGENCE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM: THE HISTORICAL SCHOOL IN 19TH CENTURY AMERICA. By *Moshe Davis.* [The Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy, Number 15.] (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1963. Pp. xiv, 527. $5.50.) This book is somewhat more comprehensive than the title would indicate. While concentrating on the development of the "Historical School," the group which eventually coalesced as the Conservative (middle-of-the-road) branch of American Judaism, the author makes considerable reference to the roots of the Orthodox (Right-wing) and Reform (Left-wing) movements. The net effect comes close to being a general history of Judaism in nineteenth-century America. The story is a complex one. The problems faced by Jews in trying to preserve their religious traditions were not unlike those which many Christian denominations encountered in the course of their adaptation to the American environment. Accordingly this study should be of interest to almost anyone concerned with American social and cultural history. While the work is organized chronologically by periods, within each period the approach is topical. Extensive consideration is given to efforts to develop a Jewish system of religious education, to establish institutions of higher learning, to promote agencies of social welfare, to assist in the absorption of immigrants, to win civil equality, to aid Jews in foreign lands, and to establish a united American synagogue. The last objective proved to be an impossible one, owing to a variety of factors that form much of the subject matter of this book. In the first place, American Jews could not agree on issues like revision of the prayer book, the use of English in the service, seating arrangements for women, the introduction of organs, the traditional dietary laws, and Sabbath observance. In addition there were theological differences on such questions as the resurrection of the dead, the coming of the Messiah, higher criticism of the Bible, and restoration of the Jews to Palestine. There were also social and economic bases for division. It is surprising that only three national

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unions emerged instead of the dozen or more characteristic of some Protestant denominations. The author is well qualified for the task he has undertaken. His bibliography and footnotes are impressive, though unfortunately the notes are at the back of the book. The writing is competent, but not vivid, and the publishers have done a good printing job. There is a biographical appendix, including sketches of nineteen important figures associated with the "Historical School," and also an appendix of supplementary documents.

Pennsylvania State University IRA V. BROWN

ARISTOCRAT IN UNIFORM: GENERAL DUNCAN L. CLINCH. By *Rembert W. Patrick*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 226. $5.50.) This is a minor effort by a major southern historian. The title of the book gives two clues to a theme. Yet, as the author admits, Clinch was not an aristocrat, and, as a general, he had a most uneventful career. He was in uniform from 1808 to 1836, but there was little to be done. Even in the War of 1812 and in the Seminole War his performance was not exciting. The largest engagement in the winter of 1835–1836 on the Withlacoochee was one in which he commanded only eight hundred men, five hundred of whom were inactive. He acquired his fortune more by marrying than working; his rank came more from living long than from fighting; and his career as a Whig politician was owing more to others shoving than to his own pushing. While in the national House of Representatives his name was called one day, and when he did not answer, Alexander Stephens urged him to respond, but Clinch spluttered: "Damn! I don't care. I'm against all they do anyhow." His nickname of "Old Withlacoochee" has a pathetic ring—inferior to "Old Tippecanoe" or "Old Fuss and Feathers." Why then was the book written? A descendant has urged the telling of the story. This was why the author, with scant materials, has strained at overwriting to find a setting worthy of the hero. *Aristocrat in Uniform* is not as good a book as Herbert J. Doherty's *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist,* nor as interesting as *Seed from Madagascar,* written by Clinch's grandson, Duncan Clinch Heyward.

University of South Carolina GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

WEST OF THE MOUNTAINS: JAMES SINCLAIR AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY. By *D. Geneva Lent.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 334. $6.75.) This very readable biography of an unusual half-breed fur trader, Red River settler, explorer, and Plains scout is based on many excellent sources. The narrative flows so smoothly that eventually the reader begins to wonder how the author could possibly know all the details of Sinclair's life, ideas, and emotions, which are related with such apparent authority. Unfortunately, she does not give the reader the necessary information to judge for himself, though there are footnotes and an impressive list of unpublished and published sources in the bibliography. The citations are too general, however, and too few. When one is dealing with such controversial subjects as Sir George Simpson, the half-breed revolts in the Red River settlements, Dr. John McLoughlin, the first use of passes in the Rocky Mountains and the Cascade, Selkirk, and neighboring ranges, and American versus British occupation of the Oregon country, one can hardly be too careful and specific in announcing the exact source of one's information. Errors of known fact are discernible enough to cause the reader to wonder: "if this fact is misrepresented, what of other statements?" For example, Henry H. Sibley on page 162 is "placed at the head of Astor's old company," though on page 89 Astor is found "disposing of his interest to his old and faithful aide, Ramsay Crooks." Both statements are incorrect. Geography, too, overwhelms the author at times. Thus in her text and in some of the maps, the relation of the

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Kootenay River to the Columbia is completely misunderstood. It does not join the Columbia near Lake Windermere, as page 143 seems to state, and, especially, it does not join the Columbia in the United States, as the map on page 264 appears to show. Generally speaking, however, Miss Lent has written a very creditable biography and one that will find many readers.

St. Paul, Minnesota GRACE LEE NUTE

THE RISE OF THE DAIRY INDUSTRY IN WISCONSIN: A STUDY IN AGRICULTURAL CHANGE, 1820–1920. By *Eric E. Lampard.* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1963. Pp. xii, 466. $6.00.) This, the best history of American dairying yet written, primarily recounts the special evolution of the Wisconsin dairy industry. Because Wisconsin dairymen owe so much to others, however, the book had to outline the total history of the industry in the United States. Within its time limits, this detailed and accurate study covers every imaginable economic, social, political, and technical aspect of the industry, thoroughly, and with proper emphasis on its various parts. Sometimes Professor Lampard notices that he is covering the full American industry, and sometimes he does not. Nevertheless, over-all, this history clearly shows how Wisconsin dairymen developed their industry in company with many others. In the beginning, dairying was carried into Wisconsin by New Yorkers and New Englanders. The first momentous technical advance, the introduction of cheese and butter factories, began outside Wisconsin and slowly came to "America's Dairyland." Most of the other developments first occurred elsewhere in the industry: the introduction of the silo, the origin of the science of nutrition, advances in feeds and feeding, improvements in breeds and breeding, the fight for tuberculosis eradication, the centrifugal separator, glass milk bottles, and pasteurization. Some scientific advances, such as the Babcock butterfat test, originated in Wisconsin, but profoundly influenced all of the industry. The relationship between Wisconsin and the nation is best assessed when the book takes up the impact of the highly significant transportation and marketing institutions. The dependence of the industry on the metropolis, European or American, is also shown clearly, and the complexities of the dairy business are made easily understandable without any loss of accuracy. The problems arising from the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine are discussed fully, although the matter of the fraudulent sale of oleomargarine might have been better presented. The urban dairy with its cow barns is mentioned, but casually; the story of this dreadful institution could have been told in somewhat greater detail. Here and there detail beclouds the understanding of events. Generally, the narrative bogs down where the author converts truly original research into history. For the most part, however, the story is brightly and sharply told. The best narrative and analysis appear in those places where the author relies heavily on secondary works. Still, the book does bring together a story heretofore scattered in many documents and obscure secondary accounts. The synthesis alone is a contribution and entitles the book to the serious attention of historians and all those interested in Wisconsin.

Iowa State University JOHN T. SCHLEBECKER

THE ELECTION OF ANDREW JACKSON. By *Robert V. Remini.* [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1963. Pp. 224. $4.50.) Mr. Remini credits Andrew Jackson's victory in the presidential campaign of 1828 primarily to the first-rate political organization that backed his candidacy. This small volume dealing with the development of rival political parties during the middle and late

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1820's naturally invites comparison with the same author's *Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party* (1959), which covered virtually the same time span. *The Election of Andrew Jackson* is a superior book because the author has obviously profited from the principal criticisms of his generally well-received earlier work. He appears less inclined to accept uncritically Van Buren's point of view; for example, his handling of President James Monroe's role in the election of 1824 is more judicious. As a result of his more exhaustive study of the early Jackson organization, he has also reached conclusions at variance with his earlier assertion that "the making of the Democratic party . . . was largely the work of Martin Van Buren." Most interesting is his revised estimate of the part played by Jackson in his own political triumph. He had previously written that the general contributed mainly by "lending his name and popularity to the movement, although he himself remained silent and inactive in Tennessee." He now declares that "from the very beginning of the attempts to organize an opposition, the Hero was the head of the party—without question and without doubt." Jackson appears as a "superb politician" who mastered the arts of compromise and accommodation and who conducted "a careful campaign to wrest the presidency from John Quincy Adams." While conceding a larger role in the campaign to the candidate, he argues that the general's personal popularity as a factor in the victory has been exaggerated. Jackson could have been defeated, he maintains, if a better organization had opposed him. Remini (like Richard P. McCormick and Lee Benson) does not regard the election of 1828 as the outcome of a great democratic upsurge, but he contends that the campaign nevertheless provided the common man with "an elaborate party machine through which he could more effectively control the operation of government and shape public policy." Although the author has not fully developed this theme, he has ably described the reverse side of the coin: how politicians established new organizations and developed new techniques to win the support of the masses. *The Election of Andrew Jackson* is well written, based upon thorough research, and adequately documented, but it is curiously lacking an index.

University of Houston EDWIN A. MILES

AFTER SAN JACINTO: THE TEXAS–MEXICAN FRONTIER, 1836–1841. By *Joseph Milton Nance.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 642. $8.50.) Professor Nance has compiled a tremendous amount of material with which he delineates the complex stories of the relations between Texas and Mexico "after San Jacinto." The first volume of a projected three-volume set, the account begins with the activities of the Texas army following retreat of the Mexican armies after Santa Anna's defeat and the threats of the Mexican politico-military leaders to mount a reinvasion to recapture the lost territory. The volume ends with the unsuccessful effort of the Texans to assert their sovereignty over Santa Fe, an episode that heightened suspicions and increased bitterness between the two nations as nothing else had done since the Texas revolution. Between these two events lie many experiences, incidents, and movements that are set forth in intricate detail. Representative strains of the story are: the elusive Republic of the Rio Grande, conceived by Mexican leaders in the northeast as a new government that would incorporate Texas and the three northeastern Mexican states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Coahuila; the continued problems growing out of licit and illicit trade among Texans and Mexicans in the south Texas area; the Mexican effort to enlist Indians in the holy cause of redeeming Texas for Mexico; and general lawlessness that persisted on the frontier. The book is a massive one, and the research has been prodigious. The bibliography alone, nearly half of which is made up of original sources, is twenty-nine pages. Numerous footnotes illumine the account

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with tidbits of information on the many people who left their historical mark on south Texas at this time. It is a thorough, exhaustive piece of research and a mine of information for the period considered. An extensive index enhances its use.

Texas Technological College — DAVID M. VIGNESS

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY: THE MIDDLE YEARS (1840–1900). By *Joseph T. Durkin, S.J.* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 333. $5.00.) This book, a contribution to the celebration of the 175th anniversary of Georgetown, continues the history, begun by J. M. Daley, *Origins and Early Years,* published in 1957. *The Middle Years* is essentially the story of the growing pains of a nineteenth-century college and embryonic university. Georgetown had to overcome several crises, above all the crisis occasioned by the Civil War, since the great majority of its students were southerners. The law school and the medical school were established, but there were conflicting views among Jesuit superiors as to whether they should be continued, and also, whether graduate programs in the humanities and sciences should be developed, especially after the founding of the Catholic University of America. Furthermore, the financial problem was acute throughout the whole period covered. Under the able leadership of several rectors, however, particularly Healy, Maguire, and Richards, the foundations were solidly laid for the phenomenal development of Georgetown since 1900, and more specifically, since the close of World War I. While Durkin has told his story with understandable affection, he is objective and critical, and he has made full use of the available sources.

Catholic University of America — MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

THE PAPERS OF ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE. Volume I, 1843–1862. Edited by *Frontis W. Johnston.* (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1963. Pp. lxxiv, 475. $5.00.) Zebulon B. Vance was the Chevalier Bayard of North Carolina history and tradition. A congressman at the age of twenty-eight, Confederate colonel at thirty-one, governor at thirty-two, twice re-elected to the last office and then a United States senator for fifteen years, he became a legend in his lifetime. Into his career was crowded far more than an average politician's or soldier's share of popularity, esteem, and love. This volume of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* covers the period in which the young civil and military chieftain began to establish himself in the affections and respect of his fellow citizens. From his congressional victory in 1858 through the first four months of his governorship in 1862, wit, eloquence, ingrained conservatism, and the resourcefulness of a born leader were evident. With skill, hard work, imagination, and a full understanding of North Carolina sources, Dean Johnston of Davidson College has shown himself to be an excellent editor. The type is legible, the location of original manuscripts clear, the fifty-eight-page biographical sketch valuable. Although some of the notes are a bit long, most are just about right. The courage, confusion, grief, and frustration of fratricidal war are accurately and often memorably reflected. Both official and private letters from and to Vance are published, some penned by high functionaries and others by humble persons like the wife and mother who wrote: "i ame a pore woman with a pasel of little children and i wil have to starve or go naked me and my little children ef my husband is kept way from home much longer." While the setting is almost wholly North Carolinian, the collected items constitute a substantial contribution to regional and national as well as state history. Fortunately, the real Vance likewise emerges. If he acquitted himself with intelligence and valor in the New Bern campaign and in the Seven Days, and if as governor he personified charity, initiative, and honor, he could also compose a crushing letter like the one to Edward Stanly on pages 391–393. And the humor of the man,

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the whim and fancy, the joke and gesture were combined with those rarer characteristics associated with the Jacksons and the Lees. Thus the Vance we meet here is as credible as he is distinguished—handsome, quick, incisive, earthy, possessor of a striking physique, commanding yet kind to the common man—in brief, a cavalier in jeans, a folk hero of Thomas Wolfe's Altamont. As Vance's life stretched on from 1863 to 1894 and included significant years of peacetime executive achievement as well as hours of intersectional mediation, it is hoped that other volumes (as yet unannounced, except by implication) will appear. Similarly, it has been demonstrated that the editor should be thoroughly qualified to produce the detailed Vance biography on which he has intensively labored.

University of Kentucky HOLMAN HAMILTON

THE FRONTIER OF NORTHWEST TEXAS, 1846 TO 1876: ADVANCE AND DEFENSE OF THE PIONEER SETTLERS OF THE CROSS TIMBERS AND PRAIRIES. By *Rupert Norval Richardson*. [Frontier Military Series, Number 5.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1963. Pp. 332. $12.00 postpaid.) Northwest Texas, Professor Richardson's northwest Texas, is a truncated, wedgelike portion of the state bounded today by the Red River on the north and pegged at the corners by the cities of Denison, Waco, San Angelo, and Wichita Falls. Topographically, it comprises the Lower and Upper Cross Timbers, the Grand Prairie, and a sparsely timbered marginal area. Though the author confesses in his preface that "this book deals with my own country and is a labor of love," he has escaped the pitfalls of the local historian and has succeeded admirably in presenting a scholarly and objective study of every facet of life on the mid-north Texas frontier. He traces in sequence the history of the exploration of the region, the arrival of the first thin trickle of settlers, the beginning of frontier institutions, the prolonged and violent struggle of the people against the predatory Comanches, and the final conquest of the agricultural borderland, for it should not be forgotten that this was the last outpost of the forest culture thrust up to the very edge of the High Plains. Indeed, the western half of the area furnished, in the 1860's and 1870's, the proving ground of the great names in the ranching industry, Chisum, Loving, Goodnight, and Slaughter. All is done in an honest and perceptive fashion solidly grounded on wide research. Reading reveals few failures to utilize all available sources, though perhaps the use of two manuscript journals in the Coe Collection at Yale would have added a paragraph or two to the story of the exploration of the upper Red River. All in all, this book may well serve as a model in the field of regional history. If one or two minor errors appear, they are too trivial to note in view of the author's major achievement.

Texas Western College REX W. STRICKLAND

NEW MEXICO'S TROUBLED YEARS: THE STORY OF THE EARLY TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS. By *Calvin Horn*. Foreword by *John F. Kennedy*. (Albuquerque, N. M.: Horn and Wallace. 1963. Pp. 239. $6.00.) Many problems arising in the Territory of New Mexico were common to all the sparsely settled West: protecting the frontier, determining the sphere of civil as opposed to military authority, combating the explosive violence of the open range or mining camp, and attempting to establish working arrangements with entrenched local groups. But New Mexico had its peculiar problems, the most difficult of which was the reconciliation of conflicting Spanish and English traditions. The details of New Mexico's territorial history have been told by Ralph E. Twitchell, William A. Keleher, Frank D. Reeve, and Warren A. Beck, among others. Calvin Horn avoids merely retracing this well-worn path by considering the particulars of the story only as they related to the territorial governors.

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Each brought to his office a unique background and temperament, and his personal interests. Horn relies heavily on the official reports and private correspondence of the governors, whom he quotes frequently and at length. Although these sources obviously present the governors in the most favorable light, they also emphasize two important facets of the story: the conflict and harassment inherent in all territorial administration and the importance of territorial governors in shaping the course of western development.

New Mexico State University IRA G. CLARK

NEW ESTIMATES OF FERTILITY AND POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY OF ANNUAL WHITE BIRTHS FROM 1855 TO 1960 AND OF COMPLETENESS OF ENUMERATION IN THE CENSUSES FROM 1880 TO 1960. By *Ansley J. Coale* and *Melvin Zelnik*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 186. $4.00.) Historians learning the uses of census schedules may reflect with dismay on the misinformation lurking therein. If enumerated at all, the American of the past century, in reporting so simple a fact as his age, has favored ages ending in zero, five, or an even number. The consequent "age-heaping" has hitherto skewed calculations of American birth and fertility rates. Coale and Zelnik agree with the already familiar picture of a general downward trend from the 1850's to the 1930's, but their year-by-year precision suggests just what the relationship was between population and various other matters. They assert rather less connection, indeed, between the birth rate and the business cycle than their tables seem to indicate. That waves of immigration shortly stimulated the birth rate is clearer. Contrary to Francis A. Walker's theory of 1891, however, the plummeting American birth rate—from a level in 1800 "markedly higher than that ever recorded for any European country" to one lower in 1880 than almost anywhere in Europe—appears to have been more cause than effect of the "new immigration" after 1880. Indeed, the decline in Yankee fecundity set in well before either the massive immigration, old or new, or the industrialization and urbanization of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the single most arresting fact is that 500,000 to 700,000 children who might have been born but were not in 1862–1866 were never replaced by any such wave of births as followed each of the two world wars. Civil War losses evidently must be reckoned at twice the mere casualty lists. As demographers, Coale and Zelnik do not pursue such speculations, but their tables and graphs stand to challenge historians.

Washington University ROWLAND BERTHOFF

SINCE EMANCIPATION: A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIANA NEGROES, 1863–1963. By *Emma Lou Thornbrough*. ([Indianapolis:] Indiana Division American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority. [1963.] Pp. ix, 98. $2.00.) This centennial survey relies considerably upon the author's earlier study, *The Negro in Indiana before 1900* (1957), but also summarizes her fresh research on the twentieth-century period. It provides a compendium of reliable information on the history of the status of Negroes in this northern state. Separate chapters treat chronologically a century of developments in population and residence, education, economic conditions, and twentieth-century changes in politics, civil rights, and integration. An appalling cumulative effect is achieved by this recitation of Indiana's record of proscription, discrimination, and conservative resistance to equalitarianism and civil rights. Possibly the sponsors of publication are responsible for the lack of footnotes, and yet the book is by approach and style distinctly a scholarly rather than a popular work. As scholarship it is disappointing. The uncritical use of statistical data, avoidance of analysis and interpretation, and failure to treat the inner life and cross-purposes and class differences of

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Indiana Negro communities all mark this as a work with the faults but not all the virtues of Dr. Thornbrough's earlier book. It is to be hoped that the present work is preliminary to a more substantial, three-dimensional contribution that will answer more of our urgent questions.

University of Cincinnati LOUIS R. HARLAN

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540–1861. Volume V, FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY. In two parts. By *Carl I. Wheat.* (San Francisco, Calif.: Institute of Historical Cartography. 1963. Pp. xviii, 222; 223–487. $90.00.) With the publication of these two large volumes (though listed as Parts I and II, Volume V), Carl I. Wheat and his collaborator, Dale L. Morgan, bring to a close the mammoth study of the mapping of the trans-Mississippi West from the coming of Coronado through the 1870's. Though the study carries the limitation 1540–1861 in its title, Part II extends the study year by year through the 1860's, and then one long chapter deals with the maps of the 1870's. The bibliocartography at the end, covering sixty-nine pages, lists all maps used in the five (six?) volumes by chronology, cartographer, title, and publisher, and briefly describes each one. The alphabetical index also aids in locating the maps. The sources are always given, and all originals or photostatic copies used are now in the Bancroft Library. The author expresses regret that the list is incomplete. The casual reader will be surprised that there have been so many maps made of the trans-Mississippi West, but will note that the number increases with the extension of settlements and of transportation into the region. Map making obviously has not been the monopoly of any single agency such as the Geological Survey or the army. The historian will probably find the general and specific volumes dealing with the growth of geographic knowledge about the West better suited to his purpose than this series. But if he wishes to know how Knight's map of 1864 differs from the one issued in 1863 ("changing the name of Nevada's Lake County to Roop County. . . ."), Wheat's volumes will give adequate information for almost any purpose. This volume is a cartographer's tour de force, not a historian's balanced synthesis of mapping the American West.

Whitewater State College, Wisconsin WALKER D. WYMAN

THE MILITARY CONQUEST OF THE SOUTHERN PLAINS. By *William H. Leckie.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 269. $5.95.) At the close of the Civil War four Indian tribes, the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa, claimed much of the vast expanse of country south of the Platte River and westward from the ninety-eighth meridian to the Rocky Mountains. It took fifteen years of councils, treaty making, and fighting to win the region for settlement; these events make the substance of this book. There is the story of the campaigns by Sheridan, Hancock, Custer, and others against the Cheyennes in Kansas; of the Peace Commission of 1867; and the Medicine Lodge Treaty that was calculated to give the Indians homes on reservations and end the fighting. But broken promises by both white men and Indians and a military mailed fist that could antagonize the red men but was not strong enough to subdue them made warfare the normal condition in the region. Maraudings in Colorado and Kansas by the Cheyennes and Arapaho and in Texas by the Comanches and Kiowas, aggravated for a period by the peace policy that hampered the military in their operations on the reservations, make a long series of tragic stories which Mr. Leckie has told interestingly and in considerable detail. Indians suffered as well as whites. Witness the massacre of Black Kettle's village at Sand Creek in Colorado; the Salt Creek massacre in Texas and the subsequent dramatic story of the Kiowa chiefs who led it; the fight at Adobe Walls in the Texas Pan-

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handle; and the final subjugation of the red men by such tough cavalry leaders as Mackenzie, Price, Davidson, and Custer, who with their troopers faced hot lead and poisoned arrows to win the southern plains for the settlers. All these things have been related before, most of them in great detail. Why then write this book? The author states that a book dealing with the struggle as an integrated whole has not been published, and probably no other relatively brief account covers it so adequately. The illustrations are good and the bibliography superb. Leckie has written mainly from original sources, but he has examined and made some use of a vast amount of secondary material.

Hardin-Simmons University RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

SOLDIER AND BRAVE: INDIAN AND MILITARY AFFAIRS IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, INCLUDING A GUIDE TO HISTORICAL SITES AND LANDMARKS. Introduction by *Ray Allen Billington*. [National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Volume XII.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1963. Pp. xviii, 279. $6.50.) *Soldier and Brave* is the first volume to appear in a new series issued by the National Park Service. Primarily the book is a guide to historic sites relating to the conflict between the Indians and the United States Army in the trans-Mississippi West. The sites discussed or listed here are divided into four categories. The first comprises eight elements of the National Park System that have some "primary or secondary association with nineteenth-century military and Indian affairs." The second includes twenty-one sites eligible for the Registry of National Historical Landmarks, sites that have been judged to possess exceptional importance for commemorating and illustrating the history of the United States. For each of these sites the book gives a two- or three-page account describing location, ownership, significance, and present appearance of the site. The third category consists of 117 "other sites considered." This is a listing, by states, of sites judged to be important but not to possess "exceptional value" as far as Indian-military history is concerned. Each of these sites gets treatment in a paragraph or two. Finally, there is a simple listing, with no commentary, of "sites also noted." By and large the sites are either military posts or Indian battlefields, with an occasional Indian agency or Indian mission building included. The whole forms a comprehensive guide, but the technical divisions would seem to be of more importance to National Park Service planners than to the casual tourist, who might prefer to have the historic sites listed in a single catalogue, or to the historian, who would probably argue about the criteria of importance and their application in various instances. In addition to the guidebook features of the volume, there is a brief historical narrative that tells in rapid fashion the story of white-Indian conflicts in the West. It is generally accurate and as complete as its scope allows, being intended only to give the historical background for the sites noted in the major part of the book. Although this book is not aimed at the professional historian, it can still be of some use to him as a reference volume. The maps are well done, and the numerous illustrations have been carefully chosen. The factual accounts of the various sites present in compact form information about army posts and Indian battlefields, which comes from men who obviously have been on the spot.

Marquette University FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

PENSIONS FOR PROFESSORS. By *Theron F. Schlabach*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1963. Pp. iv, 122. $3.00.) This short monograph, subsidized by a Ford Foundation grant to the History of Philanthropy Project, summarizes the travails of an earlier foundation—

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the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching—in its pioneering effort to establish the principle of retirement pensions in American higher education. This objective was accomplished through the largess of Andrew Carnegie and the resourceful leadership of Henry S. Pritchett, the M.I.T. president who designed and administered the Carnegie Foundation's experimental free pension program and later developed and headed the contributory program of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. The author focuses on the early struggle of the state-supported institutions for a share in the golden trough of free pensions. Although this study utilizes personal papers, reports, and other sources to advantage, the struggle appears to be unduly personalized and overdramatized, while the contributions of Pritchett and the free pension plan to an evolving concept are depreciated.

American Association of University Professors ROBERT VAN WAES

THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH. By *Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.* [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1962, Delivered at Mercer University on October 23, 24, and 25.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 109. $2.50.) This volume is at once a series of lectures to southern undergraduates, a summary of recent scholarship on southern political history, and an interpretation of the region's political past, and it makes a contribution at each of these levels. Its merits as a group of lectures or a reading assignment for undergraduates are its engaging style and its hopefulness about the viability of southern egalitarianism. Perhaps the book's greatest contribution is its judicious survey, in text and bibliographical essay, of recent scholarship on southern politics, by both political scientists and historians. This would be enough for so small a book, but the author has given it another dimension, that of reinterpretation, through emphasis rather than formal thesis. Professor Grantham's intensive research on the South during the progressive era led him to believe that "our understanding of the extent to which the region experienced social conflict and adopted salutary reforms has been obscured by the myth of a monolithic and conservative South." Though conceding a predominantly conservative southern past, the author attacks the *mystique* of southern unity and traces cracks in the monolith such as internal sectional and class conflicts and the attachment of many southerners to democratic principles or national political movements. Of the four lectures, the second and third, sweeping from Reconstruction to the New Deal, are more richly illustrated and more cautious in interpretation. The final lecture endorses the revolutionary changes now transforming the region's political constituency. This southerner's search for a more usable political past will seem too pragmatic to some historians, for it omits many undemocratic political elements, past and present, and poses the danger of a new, "democratic" mythology. This work serves, however, to redress the balance in southern historiography by challenging the nostalgia and moonshine that have beclouded earlier views of a not so solid South.

University of Cincinnati LOUIS R. HARLAN

MOORINGS OLD AND NEW: ENTRIES IN AN IMMIGRANT'S LOG. By *Paul Knaplund*. Foreword by *Merle Curti*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1963. Pp. x, 276. $4.00.) Among the limited number of published autobiographies by immigrants to the United States, that by Professor Emeritus Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin must be regarded as one of the more significant. In addition to detailed recollections of a long life, there is evidence of a disciplined historian's approach to his own experiences. If one adds genuine literary merit to this, the book's contributions make for more than casual interest. The early chapters deal with details of life on and in the general vicinity of Knaplundöy, an island in Saltenfjord,

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near Bodö, above the Arctic Circle in northern Norway. The geography of the region is vividly described, the social structure and customs of the island and mainland communities of the region are brought to life, the fascination of the surrounding seas is communicated, the capriciousness of income from the fisheries is shown, the religious and political currents of the time are brought in, and the richness of the folklore is revealed. National developments, such as the language controversy and the separation from Sweden, during the score of years before Knaplund's emigration in 1906 are brought into the account. Emigration to America brought the young Knaplund to a farm near Ostrander, Iowa, and there is a good description of his voyage and the trip inland. The story of his life with his first employer, the farmer Hans Christ, is virtually a chapter out of a Rolvaag novel. Knaplund's determined progress thereafter to a command of the English language, through a Lutheran preparatory school to the University of Wisconsin, an interlude of high school teaching, and then on to a doctorate in English history and a long career in teaching and scholarship at the University of Wisconsin are enlivened in his account by striking characterizations of academic life and of higher education in America. Visits to Alaska, Great Britain, and his native Norway give him opportunity to comment on people and places. The autobiography reveals a sensitive and gifted immigrant's reactions to experiences and environments in Norway and America over almost four score years. There are several illustrations and a good index. Professor Curti has written an appreciative foreword.

Carleton College CARLTON C. QUALEY

IN RETROSPECT: THE HISTORY OF A HISTORIAN. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1963. Pp. viii, 212. $4.50.) This story of the career of a distinguished scholar is a chapter in the rise of social history, which he helped so much to establish. As a statesman of scholarship, he made important contributions to the Social Science Research Council, the Institute of Early American History and Culture, the Records of War Administration, and the National Historical Publications Commission. His own writings, his editing of "The History of American Life" series, and (not least) his fruitful progeny of graduate students placed social history firmly on the American academic scene. This memoir reveals what I never glimpsed in taking his lecture course: the personal involvement of a son of immigrants in his chosen society. He records his interest in Bellamy's socialism, his commitment to Sacco and Vanzetti, his stout defense of academic freedom, his fund raising efforts against McCarthy, and his practical concern for the American Indian. Perhaps a tradition of academic "objectivity," inherited from the days of "scientific" history, obscured in class this personal reality. His teacher, Herbert L. Osgood, put him in mind of "the girl who said of a book on alligators that it told more about alligators than she wanted to know," yet Osgood impressed him "as the very image of the austere and dedicated scholar." I felt a similar ambivalence about Osgood's protégé. The legacy of "scientific" positivism survives also in his favorite theory of a cyclical rhythm of liberalism and conservatism, perhaps too in his marked silence about modern philosophy, literature, or psychology. Though he pioneered in social history, his memoir emphasizes history as "past politics" much more narrowly, for example, than Henry Adams' *Education,* just as social historians tend to lean on politics for a focus they have not found in their own materials. The tone of this retrospect is serene and justly satisfied, like all good success stories. It is enviable, but I miss evidence of conflict, development, and a search for ideas. His trips abroad (Asia, London, and Leiden) seem not to have affected much his views on America; nor has he responded to any intellectual influences from Europe. There is no sign of his having suffered any upsetting change of outlook. He confesses that he is "uninterested in the ultimate

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meaning of life," while he found it "richly rewarding," however, to read through (as a reviewer) the entire twenty-one volumes of the *DAB*. Perhaps this autobiography is a profile of an established style of mind in our profession, as well as being a portrait of a notably decent and effective man.

California Institute of Technology CUSHING STROUT

THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF DR. CONRAD BERGENDOFF. Edited by *J. Iverne Dowie* and *Ernest M. Espelie*. (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Historical Society. 1963. Pp. x, 246. $4.95.) Dr. Conrad Bergendoff's statesmanlike service in the Augustana Lutheran Church and as president of its leading college, Augustana at Rock Island, Illinois, alone would justify the publication of a collection of essays honoring this clergyman and educator. It was, however, Bergendoff's scholarly interest in Swedish and Swedish-American backgrounds and their ramifications for the Augustana Church that explains why he was sought out by the Augustana Historical Society "in recognition of all immigrants contributing to the American epic." Ironically, the *Festschrift* contains nothing like an adequate treatment of Bergendoff's career either as a forward-looking theologian or as a historian fully conscious of the perils of overlooking past experience. Of the fifteen papers included in the volume, several deserve special mention. C. Emanuel Carlson's "The Best Americanizers" is an original interpretation of the part played by New World public education in the immigration story, and it explains, at least in part, why the Swedish immigrant community, unlike its German and Norwegian counterparts, was spared a bitter controversy over the common school. Nils Hasselmo's "Language in Exile" probes deeply and understandingly into a problem that touched all aspects of the immigrant's life. O. Fritiof Ander's "An Immigrant Community during the Progressive Era" is a mature and many-sided interpretation of the Swedish Americans in an advanced stage of transition. And Ernest M. Espelie's impressive "Bibliography of the Published Writings of Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, 1918–1963," atones in part for the absence of a critical review of Bergendoff's life and thought. The book also contains interesting studies of academies, colleges, and cities that became centers of Swedish-American life, the foreign-language press, and primary historical sources, a survey of the causes of immigration, a statement about the Augustana Church by Bergendoff, and a tribute by Dr. Edgar M. Carlson, president of Gustavus Adolphus College. The chapters, although focusing on a relatively narrow phase of Swedish-American life, succeed remarkably well in suggesting the richness and variety of the immigration story. They also demonstrate the need for further research in Swedish-American history.

St. Olaf College KENNETH O. BJORK

THE TOWNSEND MOVEMENT: A POLITICAL STUDY. By *Abraham Holtzman*. Introduction by *Wilbur J. Cohen*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1963. Pp. 256. $5.00.) This is the first large scholarly effort to assess the strengths and weaknesses of a movement that once played a prominent part in American politics. Professor Holtzman's approach is that of a political scientist interested in the political process as well as a particular development and influenced heavily by the group theory of politics. What he contributes is a thorough analysis of a group, not a historical treatment of its rise and fall. Proceeding topically rather than chronologically, he looks at the situation that produced the group, the bases of the Townsend plan's appeal, the structure and control of the movement, its pressures upon Congress, its attempts to operate as a political machine, congressional pressure against the movement, its involvement in party politics, and its use of the initiative. To help explain its failures, he compares it with a more successful pressure group, the Anti-Saloon League. Yet he regards the movement as

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very influential, affecting both the rate at which the pension program developed and the size of the payments that it made. Adding to the significance of his work, he indicates that "only in the United States was the Social Security Act from its inception intimately affected by the politics of the aged." Unfortunately, this valuable study of a pressure group adds little to our understanding of the Roosevelt administration. Relying chiefly upon published sources, the author cannot penetrate deeply into the administration and explain its operations. (The entire work cites only six manuscripts from the Roosevelt Library.) Did Roosevelt champion pensions as a consequence of the pressure of the Townsend movement, or did it simply provide him with help in taking a step he had been planning? Was the movement as important as the social welfare wing of progressivism in shaping Roosevelt's behavior on this issue? The author's sources on Roosevelt's actions in the mid-thirties—the New York *Times* and the book by Frances Perkins—do not answer these questions. The treatment leaves me with the suspicion that Roosevelt used the movement, perhaps deliberately exaggerating its strength, and that it had an impact upon Congress but not the President.

University of Missouri RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL

FEDERAL CONSERVATION POLICY, 1921–1933. By *Donald C. Swain.* [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXVI.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. 221. $4.00.) As Donald C. Swain properly notes in his introduction "1921 has become a convenient terminal point for studies of conservation. Historians and conservation writers alike expatiate the Roosevelt-Pinchot era and then skip gracefully to the New Deal resources program, assuming that the intervening years were . . . an unimportant interlude." Swain has dealt commendably with the kind of era that taxes the historian—the plateau between the high ridges of dramatic accomplishment before and after. He amply demonstrates that while these years might have been a plateau with respect to conservation accomplishment it was a well-stocked one. He divides his subject into "six commonly recognized resource categories—water, timber, soil, wildlife, minerals, and natural beauty"—although he does not treat them in that precise order. Each chapter is self-sufficient and in many ways is a history of the bureau through which such resources were handled in the days of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. The sources Swain relies on are official or unofficial memoirs of highly placed bureaucrats. While he from time to time necessarily discusses acts of Congress, he does not seem as interested in congressional reactions and personalities. The name of Senator Charles L. McNary appears frequently in the chapter on forest conservation, yet in a footnote the author refers readers to an assessment of "McNary's political shrewdness" in William Greeley's book, *Forest and Man,* Greeley being the chief forester in the 1920's. It would be very easy to emerge from reading this book with the conclusion that arguments of the bureaucracy were so self-evident that Congress accepted them *pro forma.* The complete story would have to include the arguments and persuasions of the conservation leaders to the committees and to the Congress. On the other hand bureaucratic orientation high-lights the role of an alert bureaucracy in the preliminary formulation of public policy. Swain also clearly demonstrates that a bureaucracy does not proceed faster than the political leadership. At the same time he shows that Franklin Roosevelt had in 1933 a conservation-minded bureaucracy ready in most instances with plans that needed only the magic wand of political leadership to transmute to new policy or to carry to higher levels of performance. The conservation of the 1920's and early 1930's cannot be neatly symbolized in one or two personalities, but Swain has been alert to personality where it is appropriate. He notes the contribution of Stephen Mather in establishing the National Park Service and the aesthetic side of conservation. He deals with the long

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but successful crusade of H. H. Bennett calling for national attention to soil conservation. Gifford Pinchot emerges as the grandfather of the Forest Service, William Greeley, its father. Hoover is portrayed as an excellent engineer-administrator, a vigorous exponent of conservation, limited at crucial junctures by his political philosophy. The inclusion of wildlife conservation and the preservation of natural beauty are seen as the significant innovations. Swain's style is unadorned exposition with a dash of succinct statement with respect to personality; his judgments are dispassionately and precisely stated.

Bureau of Land Management JERRY A. O'CALLAGHAN

AMERICAN STRATEGY IN WORLD WAR II: A RECONSIDERATION. By *Kent Roberts Greenfield.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 145. $4.50.) Admirers of Dr. Greenfield's earlier book, *The Historian and the Army,* will welcome these further lectures by the former editor of "The U.S. Army in World War II." They will find here the same fairmindedness, good judgment, and lucid argument. In the first two lectures the author considers how far eight vital strategic decisions were adhered to in an Anglo-American setting. He shows how the early decision, to defeat Germany before Japan, was never reversed, though on certain occasions concessions were made to Admiral King's preoccupation with the Pacific. He explains fairly the differing approaches, the direct and the "peripheral," of the two Western Allies to the problem of defeating Germany. He discounts suspicions that the British were not wholehearted believers in a cross-Channel "power-drive" as soon as conditions made its success possible, namely the dispersal of German strength in Western Europe and a sufficiency of landing craft, for which the Americans had assumed responsibility. On the other hand he points out that in objecting to the "rigidity" of American strategy the British failed to take account of the requirements of American mass production. Quoting General's Marshall's remark in April 1945 that he "would be loath to hazard American lives for purely political purposes," the book raises the interesting question of how far political can be separated from military aims in a major war. Greenfield argues that in the circumstances of World War II military considerations were bound to prevail. In his third chapter the author discusses President Roosevelt's use of his powers as commander in chief and suggests that he overruled his military experts more often than is usually supposed, especially in the prewar period and in 1942–1943. The final lecture, on "Airpower and Strategy," traces the changing relations between the army air forces and their rivals from mutual suspicion to triumphant partnership. This little book should appeal to all students of military history.

Trinity College, Cambridge J. R. M. BUTLER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. In seven volumes. Volume IV, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 7534.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1963. Pp. viii, 854. $3.25.) This selection of documents, bearing on the Near East and Africa during the critical year 1942, is indispensable to the student of American diplomacy of the period. It covers the general area all the way from Afghanistan to Liberia and Ethiopia. While a number of routine matters enter into the discussion, there are also a number of distinct high lights that had a decided impact on the course of the war in the Near East and Africa, among them the problem of United States participation in the Middle East Supply Center in Egypt. Others centered around the very delicate situation in Iran, involving the supply of food grains, the extension of lend-lease assistance, the dispatch of American military, police, and financial advisers, and the exposition of the American position relative to the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian alliance. The

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materials relative to Zionist and Arab agitation regarding the future status of Palestine, though scanty, reflect something of the basic difficulties of the United States in this persistent problem. Similarly interesting are the documents covering the establishment of the American legation in Jidda and the protection of the Saudi old fields. The materials relative to Lebanon and Syria, however, are of quite special significance, for they reflect the evident intention of France to remain in that area, despite the De Gaulle pronouncement of independence and the Anglo-American concern regarding the French position. The remark of George Wadsworth, the American diplomatic agent, that Syria wanted independence without limitation, while a majority of Lebanese Christians preferred "independence with protection," is perceptive. The section dealing with American-Turkish relations is of equal interest, granted the significance of the Turkish position during the war. The central problems involved lend-lease assistance, pre-emptive buying of chrome by the United States and the United Kingdom, the passage of German commercial vessels (as possible naval auxiliaries) through the Straits, and the possibility of the United States helping to improve Turco-Soviet relations.

American University HARRY N. HOWARD

AMERICAN ZIONISM AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, 1942–1947. By *Richard P. Stevens.* (New York: Pageant Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 227. $3.50.) The stated purpose of this study is to "unfold the plan" by which the Zionist movement, or, more specifically, American Zionists, succeeded in having the program of Jewish statehood in a partitioned Palestine "adopted as American foreign policy." As the author himself points out, the Zionists employed the approaches of interest groups characteristic of the pluralistic system of this country. However, he seems torn between the view that the pressure tactics employed by the Zionists "seem to be within the framework of democratic techniques" and the opposite conclusion that these activities were not "viewed in that critical light which is necessary in a democracy." Mr. Stevens is also aware that the allegedly all-powerful Zionist lobby on many occasions had to contend with pressures exerted by oil interests with Arab connections, missionaries and their supporters in the State Department, and the military establishment. If the study is at all of value, its contribution lies in the "unfolding" not of an allegedly irresistible and single-minded Zionist plot, but of the technique of evading the consequences of frivolous and often contradictory verbal statements characteristic of American elective officials, not excluding the two Presidents of the United States identified in the uninformed mind with pro-Zionist sympathies, Roosevelt and Truman. In the light of the author's own perusal of the documentation, it is apparent that what he calls "Zionist prestige" was often at a rather low level, and the advocates of Jewish statehood—motivated most powerfully by the need to provide a haven for the victims of Hitler's massacre of European Jews—had to contend with the "fence-straddling and vague" statements of prominent Americans. If the author had not dismissed so easily the point made at the beginning of the book, that the creation of Israel was owing primarily to the British withdrawal from Palestine, the military activities of Jewish defense groups (and, one might add, the *de facto* quasi statehood of the Jewish community throughout the duration of the Palestine mandate), rather than to the doings of the American Zionists, he could have treated the subject matter of the study as the minor contributing factor that it was, possibly worthy of a doctoral dissertation, but remarkably pointless as a book. It pains one to add that this work is very carelessly written and shows a disquieting misuse of words, which could be dismissed as trifling were it not engaged in by a certified educator.

American University SAMUEL L. SHARP

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JOHN FOSTER DULLES: THE LAST YEAR. By *Eleanor Lansing Dulles*. Foreword by *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1963. Pp. xi, 244. $4.95.) Eleanor Lansing Dulles' book offers a welcome new look at the personality, character, and achievements of one of the most important and controversial American Secretaries of State. This short study of Dulles' last year—the year of the duel between Dulles and Khrushchev—is of unusual interest not only because of the author's close family relationship to the Secretary, but also because of her own long diplomatic and scholarly career. Miss Dulles is aware of the pitfalls and handicaps of writing a biography of her brother whom she deeply admired and loved. She readily admits that the personal relationship may have limited her perspective, but, at the same time, she wants the reader to know that the familial connection did not "diminish" her "experience in research." Miss Dulles does not attempt to analyze or summarize the foreign policies of Secretary Dulles; nor does she trace the origin and development of some of his important, and at times dramatic, foreign policy pronouncements. This she leaves for future biographers and historians. Instead she limits her study, with appropriate diversions into past experiences, to one year of her brother's life: the year 1958, which she believes "reflects in a remarkable manner the results of most of his former experience, study, and development up to that time." While this self-imposed restriction narrows the perspective, it nevertheless contributes to the understanding of Dulles as a man whose interests "in family, religion, sport, travel, history, and philosophy made him the recognized craftsman in the making of foreign policy." The author discusses his personal and official relationship with President Eisenhower, and, with sureness that comes from personal experience in the Department of State, describes his relationship with departmental officials, as well as the way he managed the Department and the Foreign Service. She also touches upon the relation of the Secretary to the Congress, to the public, to pressure groups, and to such controversial individuals as Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The portrait of Dulles that emerges from this book is that of a man of strong beliefs who would rather be respected than liked. His devotion to principle tended to transcend his personal relations with people with whom he worked or was involved. He was not embarrassed by such words as "patriotism," "duty," or "righteousness." While sensitive to criticism, he would not allow personal considerations to deter him from courses of action that he believed to be best for his country. Above all, he wanted to be judged not by his motives, but by the results of his actions.

University of Connecticut LOUIS L. GERSON

POLITICS IN A PLURALIST DEMOCRACY: STUDIES OF VOTING IN THE 1960 ELECTION. By *Lucy S. Dawidowicz* and *Leon J. Goldstein*. Foreword by *Richard M. Scammon*. (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 100. $1.75.) Because the 1960 presidential election provided the United States with its first Catholic President, this contest will be studied by voting analysts for years to come. Buttressed by twenty-three effective statistical tables, this little book gives a concise analysis of a few selected areas of the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon vote. The study, prepared under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee, falls into three sections: an analysis of voting results in five multiethnic cities, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Providence, and Los Angeles; an attempt to measure the impact of President Kennedy's religion on rural voting patterns among fundamentalist groups in Tennessee, Illinois, and Ohio, French Catholics and Anglo-American Protestants in Louisiana, and Lutherans and Catholics in Minnesota; and Jewish voting behavior. The third section of the book seeks to measure and interpret Jewish voting in 1960 and other recent elections and is perhaps the most helpful part of the study. Recognizing that local conditions or the qualities of a particular political personality can upset election patterns,

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the authors refrain from drawing general conclusions about election behavior from their selected examples. In a final sentence the authors conclude: "It is not so much that we may have stumbled upon answers to questions asked by others; rather, our findings may suggest further questions which can be answered only by further research." This conclusion is a fairly accurate, although modest, appraisal of the book. The text is well written, and the tables are arranged in good form. Although there is no bibliography, the footnote citations are helpful. The book is useful in supplying a few brief summary interpretations of voting behavior in selected areas. It is not intended to provide a comprehensive, thoroughgoing analysis of the 1960 presidential election. That book has not yet been written. Nor is there any significant body of postelection analysis for the 1960 campaign aside from the helpful observations in Theodore White's *The Making of the President.*

Washington, D. C. GEORGE MCGOVERN

LES LAÏQUES ET LA PRESSE PÉDAGOGIQUE AU CANADA FRANÇAIS AU XIX[e] SIÈCLE. By *André Labarrère-Paulé.* [Les cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire, Number 5.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1963. Pp. xii, 185.) This interesting little volume is a nice example of the way contemporary concerns influence historical research. Few subjects are receiving more attention from French Canadians today than education; within the debate on education few problems are more heatedly discussed than the role of the Church and the question of *laïcisme.* M. Labarrère-Paulé has here set out to examine the nineteenth-century role of laymen in education in Quebec and more particularly the role of laymen in the development of pedagogical journals. The study is an analysis of an important, if minor, segment of French-Canadian intellectual history between 1857 and 1900. The author brings to life a number of obscure, as well as some better-known, figures in the intellectual and educational world of the period. He also provides a careful, though occasionally tedious, analysis of the contents of six separate pedagogical journals. Perhaps the most interesting and original chapter is the one dealing with *La Semaine,* "une revue de combat," which, during its brief existence, effectively voiced demands for a variety of educational reforms including better salaries for teachers. While the book is narrowly specialized in object the author does not fail to bring out a number of the themes that dominated French-Canadian nationalism in the nineteenth century: "la vocation rurale," the conflict of liberal and ultramontane, the ambiguous attitude of French Canadians toward their turbulent former motherland, France. Not the least interesting conclusion of the book is that although by 1900 the laity, in the person of C. J. Magnan, maintained control of the one remaining pedagogical publication, it had only succeeded in doing so by compromising with both the political and religious conservatives who were then setting the tone of French-Canadian nationalism. The pedagogical press took on the task of promoting one of the major ideals of the dominant conservative, nationalist ideology at the end of the nineteenth century: "to make the province of Quebec the Christian nation replacing faltering France in the role of the eldest daughter of the Church." Thus Labarrère-Paulé's study, though narrow in scope, provides some useful insights into the French-Canadian mind in the nineteenth century. Students of French Canada are once more indebted to the *Institut d'Histoire* of Laval University for this, the fifth, of its useful *cahiers.*

University of Toronto RAMSAY COOK

AZTEC THOUGHT AND CULTURE: A STUDY OF THE ANCIENT NAHUATL MIND. By *Miguel León-Portilla.* Translated from the Spanish by *Jack Emory Davis.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 67.] ([3d ed.;] Norman:

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University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xxiii, 241. $5.75.) Investigations of Aztec intellectual history have been made since the sixteenth century, but of course it is only in our own time that the subject has received precise monographic treatment. Alfonso Caso, Jacques Soustelle, Angel María Garibay K., and the author of this work are probably the chief modern scholars in this field. León-Portilla's main work on the subject is *La Filosofía Náhuatl,* first published in 1956 and revised in 1959. *Aztec Thought and Culture* is a translation of *La Filosofía Náhuatl* with some further revision and adaptation. Not enough source material remains for a reconstruction of the chronological history of Aztec thought, and the subject must therefore be studied analytically by categories. Chapter 1, "The Birth of Philosophy," is concerned, rather deceptively, not with historical origins but with the conceptual fundamentals of Aztec thinking. Following Caso, León-Portilla identifies as basic to the cosmology the solar myth, by which the Aztecs were "people of the Sun." This introduces Aztec metaphysics and theology, more familiar subjects because of their direct identification, in terms close to our own, by the Spanish friar-chroniclers of the sixteenth century. León-Portilla is most valuable and original in the final sections, which concern the role of man and the limitations of human endeavor in the universe. The possibility of true knowledge receives an unexpected emphasis. Aztec preoccupation with the ephemeral qualities of life is well brought out; its counterpart is an aesthetic conviction that art embodies the divine. Understanding was achieved in the Aztec world literally through flower and song. These were transient, but represented recurrent, hence permanent, powers. The work is well grounded in Nahuatl texts and contains a carefully chosen bibliography; the maps are arty and not of much use. Jack Emory Davis' translation is smooth and clear.

State University of Iowa CHARLES GIBSON

LOS ARCHIVOS DE LA HISTORIA DE AMÉRICA. PERIÓDO COLONIAL ESPAÑOL, Volume II. By *Lino Gómez Canedo.* [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, Publication Number 225.] (México, D. F.: the Instituto. 1961. Pp. vi, 386.) The second volume of Father Gómez Canedo's guide to institutional collections of manuscript materials for the historiography of colonial Latin America maintains the same high standards and utility of the first (see *AHR,* LXVII [Apr. 1962], 708). In about half as many pages he has covered repositories, chiefly public, in the United States and Europe, exclusive of Spain. His objectives, criteria, and method are unaltered, and wholly compatible with the present needs of research. He gives a brief history of the institution, its major Hispanic American collections, relevant bibliography, and notice of finding aids, and on the basis of his own examination of the documents, lists those of special or unusual interest and importance. Five geographically arranged chapters deal with the United States. Starting with the Library of Congress, he first treats the East, with information on the New York Public Library completing that survey. That section on Chicago to New Orleans (Ayer Collection, Northwestern University, Middle American Research Institute) is followed by parallel notes on Texas and New Mexico collections, then California. The final chapter touches various areas: the National Archives, the Smithsonian Institution, the Oliveira Lima Collection, the American Academy of Franciscan History, the Duke and Spanish Florida Collections, the Philadelphia area, minor New York City collections, and several other lesser bodies of sources. Some gaps, such as the Gilcrease Collection (difficult of access when Gómez Canedo was working) can be noted, but there is an invaluable body of information, previously scattered, but now compactly presented. As the author is a trained historian of high quality, his evaluative judgments are helpful. In general, they supplement data included on many of the same collections in Hilton's *Guide.*

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For Europe, Gómez Canedo again employs five chapters: four for major geographical centers and a fifth for a variety of places and lesser collections. Rome, Portugal, Paris, and Great Britain are the areas. For purposes of presentation the Mitchell Library (Sydney, Australia) is included in the fifth European chapter, along with Copenhagen and Italian and Viennese holdings. Unfortunately the point when the author completed his work in about 1958 and its publication date leave a gap, during which appeared further writings on the places he includes. In addition to expressing the appreciation of Latin Americanists and historians in general for Gómez Canedo's useful work, I would like to suggest that it be translated into English for a wider public. At that time the author should be encouraged to add to such translation relevant literature published during the past five years.

Library of Congress HOWARD F. CLINE

LOS GRUPOS DE CONQUISTADORES EN TIERRA FIRME (1509–1530): FISONOMÍA HISTÓRICO-SOCIAL DE UN TIPO DE CONQUISTA. By *Mario Góngora.* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, Centro de Historia Colonial. 1962. Pp. 148.) This book makes a careful analysis of the social and economic structure of the groups of Spanish conquistadors who were active between 1502 and 1534 in the vast regions of *Tierra Firme,* from Central America to Venezuela. Not following the general designation *hueste* (host), the author prefers for this conquering band—with philological rigor and in accordance with the documents that he has handled—the term *gente* (persons) or *compaña* (group); their incursions (*cabalgadas, entradas, jornadas,* or *conquistas*) are viewed as a typical form of organization and procedures of the Spaniards in the chronological period and geographical context here studied. The work does not purport to be complete; it consists of three monographs based on documents concerning a limited number of expeditions that are considered representative. Notable for its amplitude and selection, the bibliography permits the establishment of continuous relationships among the warrior bands of medieval Spain, the military-commercial ones of the Portuguese and Castilians in the Canary Islands and African coast to the end of the fifteenth century, and the groups of Spaniards who from the beginning of the sixteenth century specialized in expeditions of booty and of commercial barter and the hunting of native slaves in the Antilles. He suggests comparisons with the *bandeiras paulistas* of colonial Brazil and timid parallels with other forms of frontier warfare between peoples of quite distinct culture, without any common juridical bases. His conclusions are not revolutionary. New data, extracted from direct testimony rather than from legal prescriptions that have generally served as the main basis of previous works on this topic, enrich our understanding of the historic role played by the conquering bands, the social backgrounds of their components, and the relation of them to their leaders, the financial backers of the enterprises, and the bureaucrats of the Spanish monarchy. The unpublished documentation employed comes primarily from two sections, little explored, of the *Archivo de Indias* in Seville: *Papeles de Justicia,* and *Contaduría.* Bibliographical notes and those on documents, transcriptions of two company contracts, and the list (partially unpublished) of the income of the Royal Treasury through booty from raids in *Tierra Firme* from 1514 to 1526 complete the book.

Universidad de Sevilla GUILLERMO CÉSPEDES

THE MEXICAN MESTA: THE ADMINISTRATION OF RANCHING IN COLONIAL MEXICO. By *William H. Dusenberry.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 253. $5.50.) Here we have a good book that deserves praise because it is original research from primary sources and adds to the general knowledge of colonial Spanish America. Furthermore it is written in an easy, comprehensible style that the

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layman and undergraduate will have no trouble understanding. Added to this is a most presentable printing and editing job by the University of Illinois Press. The more than one hundred hand-drawn "Brands of Early Stockmen in the Mexico City Area" located in the *Actas de Cabildo* are well done by author and editor and certainly enhance all aspects of the book. This work is not and was never intended to be a study of colonial Mexican ranching. It is the story of the Mexican *mesta* which was a stockmen's association created and regulated by the Spanish colonial authorities. It was modeled after the Spanish *mesta* which had its origin with Castilian stockmen during the Middle Ages. In 1537 the *mesta* was by royal order introduced into Spanish America, but apparently was functioning only in what is today Mexico. Dusenberry, after sketching the Spanish background and the slow expansion of stock raising in New Spain, deals with the *mesta*. According to his own stated purpose his "aim is to show how Spanish authorities, through the medium of the Mesta, regulated and controlled the pastoral industry more efficiently in New Spain than in other parts of colonial Spanish America." The Mexican *mesta* as sketched by Dusenberry again shows us through an unstudied colonial institution "the ineptitude and inefficiency of officials at lower levels of administration" and of "bribery, graft and corruption." It also gives us a new look at the *cabildo* (the famous town council), as "the Mesta was more closely associated with [it] than any other institution." As a matter of curiosity, the chapter entitled "Branding Regulations and Their Violations" is truly interesting. Dusenberry spent many years preparing this book by careful research; it won the 1962 Annual Book Award of the Agricultural History Society.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

MAYO EN LA BIBLIOGRAFÍA. By *María E. Caffese* and *Carlos F. Lafuente*. Foreword by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani," Number 102.] ([Buenos Aires:] Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1961. Pp. 278.) MAYO DOCUMENTAL. Volume I. Foreword and introduction by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. [Documentos para la historia argentina, Number 29.] (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani." 1961. Pp. lxvii, 293.) These two books were inspired by Argentina's sesquicentennial celebration of its independence. *Mayo en la bibliografía* is a guide, admittedly not definitive, to the literature concerned with the events in Spain and the Río de la Plata from 1808 to 1810. Books, pamphlets, and magazine and newspaper articles are listed in the order of their appearance over the past 150 years. Frequently, several editions of the same work are noted under the main entry. In addition to what is available in Argentine periodicals, attention is called to relevant articles in the leading journals of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Spain, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The journalistic articles indexed appeared in Argentine and Uruguayan newspapers. A name index and a subject index enhance the usefulness of an otherwise indispensable tool for investigators. The stated purpose of the editors of *Mayo documental* is to bring together in ten or twelve volumes the documents that will contribute to a better understanding of the objectives of European powers in the Río de la Plata between 1808 and 1811, and of the impact of European, and especially Iberian, events on Buenos Aires and other urban centers in 1808. To judge from the first volume, the series will contain heretofore edited and unedited material, the latter drawn from the archives of Brazil, England, France, and Spain. In an introductory essay, Ricardo Caillet-Bois, the able director of the institute publishing the collection, reviews the situation in Spain from the advent of Godoy to 1811. What stands out in his treatment is the evolution of Napoleon's policy toward the Spanish American colonies as the result of European developments. Originally hoping to keep the colonies within the

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Spanish Empire, Napoleon eventually found himself advocating and encouraging their independence from Spain. Caillet-Bois also discusses how events in Spain and British propaganda affected public opinion and the formation of political parties in the Río de la Plata. His observations indicate areas for future study.

Boston College JOSEPH T. CRISCENTI

VIVA JUÁREZ! A BIOGRAPHY. By *Charles Allen Smart.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1963. Pp. 444. $7.95.) Another non-Mexican, enamored of liberalism in Mexico in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, has produced a biography of the greatest Mexican of the period, Benito Juárez. Inspired in large measure by Roeder's *Juárez and His Mexico* (1947), Smart's volume must be compared with it. Like Roeder's work, Smart's is competent and integrated. Whereas Roeder offered a long bibliography, limited dependence upon manuscript sources, and no notes, Smart offers no formal bibliography, wider use of manuscript collections, and numerous notes —in a quixotic fashion that utterly fails to guide the reader to them. Half as wordy, Smart's writing is much less detailed than Roeder's. Smart, also, is not a professional historian, and, like Roeder's writing, his is usually superior to that of the professional historian. Novelist-essayist-playwright Smart set out to produce a more intimate, less political portrait of Juárez. A wave of post-Roeder publications—among them items by Fuentes Mares, Junco, Valadés, and Tamayo directly related to Juárez, and ones by Iturribarría, Knapp, Romero, Scholes, Sierra, and Valadés on men and issues of the period—were liberally employed. Certain primary sources, including those at the University of Texas, still remain unexploited. Meanwhile Juárez' "Notes for My Children" and Tamayo's *Epistolario* are milked dry for the enlargement of this portrait. The result is an authoritative, well-written, warm, even adulatory, biography. Unfortunately the little Indian towers so high that he dwarfs the true stature of too many of his contemporaries. Even the problems of Mexico are cast too completely in the shadow of one stubborn, heroic, and dignified patriot. This study exhibits the "great man" thesis and the lines of the "good story" at the expense of the "life and times" concept. There will be another book on Juárez (as surely as there will be another one about Lincoln), and in it one hopes that, instead of being written from the Olympian heights of hero worship, present-day hindsight, and the achievement of twentieth-century Mexico, a literary grace equal to that of Roeder and Smart can be wedded to a broader use of manuscripts and a more fundamental grasp of the internal realities of the Mexico of that day.

Southern Illinois University C. HARVEY GARDINER

A MEXICAN ULYSSES: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *José Vasconcelos.* Translated and abridged by *W. Rex Crawford.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1963. Pp. 288. $6.95.) Thanks to the publisher and translator, the English-speaking world now has, at long last, access to an abridged version of the autobiography of Mexico's greatest "patriot-thinker" in the twentieth century, José Vasconcelos (1882–1959). As the Spanish edition consists of four volumes (1935–39) containing over 2,700 pages, it must have been a tremendous editorial task to cut down the prolix work to one tenth of its original size. Yet the American edition is quite successful, on the whole, conveying as it does the major episodes from the tragic story of the Vasconcelian odyssey, with its wanderings and wonderings, its joys and sorrows, its accomplishments and defeats, from the dawn of the Mexican Revolution to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Vasconcelos deliberately entitled the first volume of his autobiography *Ulises Criollo;* he would not have been happy with its English title because *A Mexican Ulysses* does not make explicit his ideological bias, which was, at least until 1939,

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pro-Hispanic, anti-Yankee, anti-Marxist, anti-Protestant, and anti-Jewish. And speaking of titles, "Un hombre honrado" does not mean "an honored man" but "an honest man," Vasconcelos' real hero for Mexico.

University of Oklahoma PATRICK ROMANELL

EUROPE IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE POLICIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS TOWARDS THEIR WEST INDIAN TERRITORIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Sir Harold Mitchell.* [Special Issue of the *Hispanic American Report.*] (Stanford, Calif.: Hispanic American Society, Stanford University. 1963. Pp. xv, 211. $4.00.) Although prefaced by brief and extremely sketchy historical chapters, this work limits itself essentially to the period since the end of World War II. Surveying political and economic developments in what are or were European possessions in the West Indies, the author excludes the Bahamas from his field of interest, but includes the continental lands of British Honduras, British Guiana, and Surinam. If the author has failed to go much deeper than the journalists in describing the postwar decades in the Caribbean, he has at least provided a convenient and well-organized summary of the more important events in the British effort to abdicate power, the French endeavor to integrate overseas territory with metropolitan France, and the interesting Dutch attempt to combine colonial autonomy with imperial responsibility. It seems rather artificial, however, to try to interpret these contrasting policies in a West Indian, rather than a world-wide, context. One wishes, too, to see more of the men, parties, institutions, and interests that must stand behind the policy decisions of the European powers in their relations with the West Indies. The bibliography is unusually full and up to date.

University of Texas J. HARRY BENNETT

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Bernard J. Holm, Wartburg Theological Seminary

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Historical News

The Philadelphia Meeting, 1963*

For the first time in over two decades, Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, was host to an Annual Meeting of the Association, the Seventy-eighth. Even though a new Sheraton has been erected there, Philadelphia's hotels are less spacious than those of the usual AHA "convention cities," and the planning committees secretly rather hoped that attendance might be a little less than usual, lest congestion and confusion reign. Seemingly, however, *everyone* came. All attendance records were broken with 3,978 official registrants, and no one knows how many extras. Some of the sessions had to be held in "concourse" (basement) rooms with steam pipes overhead and trains rumbling underneath, and many members had to scurry back and forth to the Sheraton headquarters from hotels several blocks away. But fortunately the weather was good (except to Californians), the Local Arrangements Committee under Clement Motten of Temple University was superbly organized down to the charming history majorette junior guides, and the spirit of brotherly love brought forth the virtues of patience and forgiveness in those attending. At any rate things went off quite smoothly, considering the crowd.

The Program Committee consisted of Hilary Conroy, chairman, Paul H. Beik, Morton Keller, Caroline Robbins, Merze Tate, Lewis Hanke, and Norman P. Zacour. It was decided in the early meetings of the committee that no theme would be imposed upon the program. If one seemed to emerge naturally and logically as the sessions were being arranged, we would accept it and make it our capstone, but we wanted above all to have a rich and varied program, expressive of the many facets of research activity going on in the profession, and to link some of them together in natural (or unnatural) combinations that would, we hoped, contribute to wider historical vision. The committee spent considerable time talking over who was doing what among historians and writing well-placed letters for information on dark areas beyond what the agile minds and catholic interests of the committee members could embrace. As suggestions and proposals, both solicited and unsolicited, arrived, it soon became clear that there was an embarrassment of riches. We ended with fifty-five full sessions, excluding dinners, luncheons, and special meetings, well above the "usual" forty-eight; even so, many worth-while ideas had to be put aside. The burgeoning number of sessions worried us for a time, but we were determined to experiment with the linking of different regions and eras in certain sessions and at the same time have enough traditional fare to satisfy seekers of depth and refinement in the history of single nations and special periods. And we explained

*This is an abridged account of the Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, December 28–30, 1963. A full report will be published in the *Annual Report, Proceedings,* Volume I, 1963, available to members on request.

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away our worries about too many sessions by saying that the meeting rooms were smaller and that it would be well, therefore, to have more sessions than usual going on simultaneously.

About midway in our deliberations we learned that Boyd Shafer was resigning as Executive Secretary of the Association. This was a blow to the sense of "security" we had felt, knowing he stood in the background to retrieve our fumbles. We turned his resignation to the program's advantage, however, by insisting that as a price of release he should give the AHA luncheon address. In September, just before program copy was to be sent off, we thought momentarily that a theme had "emerged." President Brinton's lecture title "Many Mansions" had come in, and that, with the diversity represented in the papers being scheduled for presentation, reminded us of the term "Multanimity," from his *Ideas and Men*. We tried hard to bring forth a theme, using this ingenious term. But it would not come. "Multanimity" expressed the program's diversity very well, but said nothing of the interconnections. Modifying and qualifying phrases produced wordiness and contradiction, and with the printing deadline upon us, we reluctantly abandoned the attempt.

Thus our fifty-five sessions came into being with no formal ties and no words of invocation, each to stand or fall on its own merit. Most of them, happily, "stood," though there were a few problems. In this abridged report it will be possible to mention only a few individual sessions and papers, and the reader is referred to the forthcoming *Annual Report* of the Association for a more detailed account, which will attempt to give as thorough coverage as possible to the reports of session chairmen. What follows here is a broad outline of the meeting as a whole with special mention of a few high lights.

Academic sessions began on Saturday, December 28, at 9:30 a.m., with this first morning being largely given over to "joint sessions" with subgroups of the Association. The topics, however, seem to have been broad enough to interest more than their immediate groups, or else their members were extremely loyal, for there were near capacity audiences. The topics were "Vatican Councils" (American Society of Church History), "Social Change in Rural America" (Agricultural History Society and American Association for State and Local History), "Social and Economic Problems in Italian History" (Society for Italian Historical Studies), "Liberal Catholicism" (American Catholic Historical Association), and "The South in the 1920's" (Southern Historical Association). In addition there were unsponsored sessions on "Diplomacy in the Early National Period," "Irish-Americans and Nineteenth-Century Protest," "Varieties of Feudalism," and "Non-Western Intellectual History."

For Saturday luncheons the Church History, Phi Alpha Theta, and Labor Historians groups met formally at the hotel, while Latin Americanists went to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania where, according to their chairman, Charles Gibson, they "enjoyed a Hispanic menu in the surroundings of the Museum's impressive archaeological collections." Their luncheon speaker, John Tate Lanning, reviewed the story of "The Hispanist in the American Historical Association" in spirited and humorous style, and the year's Latin American prizes were awarded to Frank Tannenbaum, Robert S. Smith, and Francisco Miró Quesada. Following luncheon the Latin Americanists moved to

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the Museum auditorium for their joint session on "The Crisis of Colonialism in Latin America, 1763–1818." The following afternoon (Sunday, December 29) another exclusively Latin American session treated "Liberalism in Latin America, 1850–1880." In addition there were papers on Cuban nationalism in a session on "Hemispheric Images of the United States" and on Spain and Latin America in one on "Land Reform and Politics." "It was a good meeting for Latin Americanists" (Professor Gibson). These last two sessions, which combined different areas under a common theme, illustrate the Program Committee's modest attempt to bring about some interconnecting of areas of specialization. "Hemispheric Images" included Canadian as well as Cuban, and "Land Reform" touched Algeria as well as the Hispanic American complex.

Similarly, Russian history had a luncheon and two sessions ("Economic Development" and "Russian Cultural Relations") to itself, while it cross-ventilated two others, "Borderlands of Eastern Europe: Areas of Ethnic Conflict" and "Non-Western Intellectual History." Asian history also had a luncheon and two sessions ("Constitutional Movements in Asia," "Far Eastern Diplomacy") and played an interconnecting role in four: "Japan and America: Concepts of National Defense," "Currency Policy," "Crisis Diplomacy," and "Non-Western Intellectual History." Other "mixed" sessions were "The United States and Central Europe, 1900–1920," "European Responses to American Diplomacy in the 1920's and 1930's," and a charming last afternoon session on "Ancients and Moderns" in which our dwindling number of ancient historians staged an excellent demonstration of the relevance of ancient history to modern historical interpretation and the theory of governmental checks and balances.

While the program committee was delighted with the high quality of many of these "interconnecting" sessions, it was pleased also that "the room was not large enough to hold all those who wanted to attend" such a highly specialized session as "New Light on the Medici in Florence." Other sessions which sought to probe narrow fields to new depths included those on the "Administration and Politics of Tudor England," "History and Historians in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," "French Society of the Louis Philippe Era," "Germany: From Empire to Republic," "The British Labour Party," "Left and Right in France in the Thirties," "Origins of the American Revolution," "Varieties of Populism," "Reform and the Progressive Era," "American Jewish Biography," and "Varieties of Feudalism." The depth to which some of these topics were probed may be illustrated by the point that the feudal varieties discussed in the last-named session were "not the varieties of all times and places on the globe but the varieties of a given time within certain specific areas in early medieval France. . . ."

Attempts to bring forth new subject matter or a new approach characterized sessions on "Nineteenth-Century Africa," "French Canadian Nationalism," "Lost Causes" (liberties) in early modern Spain and Holland, "European Industrialists and Social Change," "Law and Society in Nineteenth-Century America," and "Psychology and History," the last being a session arranged to carry forth techniques and approaches advocated by former President William L. Langer.

Backgrounds for such matters of current public interest as urban development and state-church concern with education were laid in sessions respectively

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entitled " 'Shame of the Cities' Revisited" and "From Voluntarism to Law in American Education"; the reaches of history beyond the profession were brought out in sessions on "Textbooks and Television" and "Historical Sites as Historical Documents." The latter effectively combined surroundings with theme by meeting in Philadelphia's historic Congress Hall, which was filled to overflowing for the occasion.

Another overflowing audience gathered in the Grand Ballroom to hear Crane Brinton's presidential address. Prior to its delivery the annual award of prizes was made. This year they were few in number. By the accident of history most of the awards are made in the even-numbered years. The several prizes given every fifth year did not happen to be up for award in 1963. To make matters worse, one of the best Association prizes was not awarded in 1963. The Beveridge Award brings its recipient fifteen hundred dollars and the publication of an original manuscript that the committee considers best among the worthy ones submitted each year. During 1963 the usual number of manuscripts was submitted to the Beveridge Committee, but the committee decided that none of them merited the honor of the award. Probably most or all of them will ultimately be published as books and will be accepted as good contributions to historical knowledge, but the committee rightly was jealous of the high reputation of the series of Beveridge Award volumes, and insisted that unusual distinction was essential.

That same attitude was revealed in the one award made this year, the George Louis Beer Prize of three hundred dollars given annually for the best work in manuscript or in print of a young scholar on European international history since 1895. It must be the author's first or second book. The committee sent invitations to some 220 publishers to submit books for consideration. Nineteen books were carefully examined, and finally the committee concluded that two of the books were of such high caliber that a joint award should be made to Dr. Edward W. Bennett for his book, published by Harvard University Press in 1962, *Germany and the Diplomacy of the Financial Crisis, 1931,* and to Dr. Hans A. Schmitt for his book, published by the Louisiana State University Press in 1962, *The Path to European Union.*

An unusual award followed. Dr. Boyd C. Shafer was presented with a suitably engraved Revere silver bowl, the gift of the officers and members of the Council during his ten years of service.

After this Dean Franklin Ford of Harvard University introduced his former professor, Crane Brinton, who read his presidential address "Many Mansions" (printed in full in the January 1964 issue of the *Review*).

As if in anticipation of Professor Brinton's presidential address urging that historians must have other "mansions in Clio's house" besides narrative, political, and economic history, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association's joint session on "Tasks of Research in American History" advocated more attention to social and psychological problems; a session on "History and Theory" looked into problems connected with historical philosophizing; and an unprogramed meeting led by Merle Curti called for formation of a "Peace Research" group in the Association.

If some historians felt weary and feeble at the thought of these enlarged tasks,

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they were undoubtedly cheered by two luncheon addresses. Speaking under the auspices of the American Studies Association, Roy F. Nichols asked "Why So Much Pessimism?" and replied optimistically that historians, far from losing ground, are standing on the threshold of discoveries that may reveal to man a new sense of capacity. "Take a new look around you; you have nothing to lose but your limitations," he urged. At the general Association luncheon in his honor, Boyd Shafer concluded his decade of service as Executive Secretary with the observation that many of the debates that have gone on between different types of historians as to whose approach was the correct professional one, that is, humanist versus social scientist, philosopher versus practicing historian, "presentist" versus "pastist," were now outmoded. They reflected thinking of a time of scarcity when a Ricardian iron law of learning seemed to apply. But now is a time of affluence; history needs all serious workers, he said.

The Program Chairman wishes to express his heartfelt thanks first to those intrepid six—Beik, Keller, Robbins, Tate, Hanke, and Zacour—the intelligent, charming, witty, and argumentative committee that created the program with (or in spite of) him; secondly, to Clement Motten and his grand troop of local arrangers without whom . . . ; thirdly, to the session chairmen and participants who made and were the program—with a special sigh of gratitude to those who did emergency service, filling in for an absent member, preparing a comment on a late paper, convening a session after an overtime luncheon, things that should never happen but occasionally do; and, lastly, to those who attended, whose response makes it all worth while.

University of Pennsylvania HILARY CONROY

The Year's Business, 1963

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1963

Mr. President, Members of the Association:

This is the first and last report I will make to you as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. When President Brinton phoned me last April and told me of the crisis produced by Boyd Shafer's resignation, he asked me to serve as locum tenens for a year while more permanent arrangements were being made. I accepted on condition that in no circumstances would I be a place holder for more than one year. Only four months of that year have passed so my experience is limited. But some of my first impressions may give a freshness to this report on the affairs of the Association.

First and foremost among my impressions is my amazement and dismay at the huge burden of work that anyone occupying this position must carry. This leads me at once to a tribute to my predecessor. During his ten years in office I had served a term on the Council, but I, and the same holds true for all the others including the ten Presidents, had little or no appreciation of the sheer volume of the work he was called upon to perform. Scholars are accustomed to take their work to bed with them. At least they have time to go to bed, while one wonders

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how Boyd Shafer could devote all his thoughts and energies, as he did, to the quantity of work he accomplished and still find time to sleep. The Association owes him a vast debt of gratitude for the unstinted care and single-minded devotion with which he served it for ten years.

He has requested that the record should include his wish to thank the following members of the staff of the Association, all of whom served the Association for more than a year during the ten years he was Executive Secretary and Managing Editor: Elmer Kayser, Treasurer; Miss Patty Washington, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer; George Barr Carson, Jr., Director of the Service Center; Walter Rundell, Jr., Assistant Executive Secretary and Director of the Service Center; Mary R. Dearing, Assistant Editor and Assistant Executive Secretary; Patricia Fox, Assistant Editor; Nancy (Kane) Rosenberg, Assistant Editor; Catharine Seybold, Assistant Editor; Clinton Douglas, Bookkeeper; Rita Shea, Bookkeeper; John Appleby, Membership Secretary; Belinda Dameron, Clerk; M. Rita Howe, Editorial Assistant; John Yoder, Secretary; Margarete Walton, Secretary.

After he laid down the burden, the Council wisely decided to appoint two men to take his place. Such a solution had been adopted during several periods in the past. On those occasions convenience or compromise had been responsible, but now, because of the increased volume of work, necessity dictates the appointment of two men. Both the Editor and the Executive Secretary need time to think, to plan, to raise their vision beyond the day-to-day problems. If one man acts in both capacities, there simply is not enough time for him to act on the levels of both strategy and tactics.

The Council believed it would be possible for the Managing Editor to function successfully if he were in Washington half time and remained at his university half time. It is unnecessary to remind you that the Editor of the *American Historical Review* is perhaps the chief custodian of scholarly standards in the historical profession. As such his influence and his responsibilites are great. What you may not know so well are some of the details involved. About two hundred articles were submitted to the *Review* last year. Of these over twenty, or slightly over 10 per cent, were published either as articles or as notes. The procedure followed by Dr. Shafer and continued by me is roughly as follows: The Editor examines each article carefully, and if it is not clearly impossible refers it to a member of the Board of Editors if there is one who has specialized knowledge including the subject of the article. Sometimes that one evaluation is all that is necessary, especially if it is strongly negative. More often a second reader is necessary, and sometimes, when the first two disagree, a third judgment is asked. My brief experience with the established scholars upon whom I have called for critical reports and whose services, of course, are known only to the Editor, is that they have rendered this service to the *Review* conscientiously, thoroughly, and, thank goodness, promptly. Ultimately the decision is made, and must be made, by the Managing Editor alone.

He is also solely responsible for the selection of the books to be reviewed and of the scholars to review them. Nearly 2,000 books are received each year. Of these from 750 to 800 are actually reviewed. The problem of securing the right reviewer is a difficult one with many aspects. Most of these are readily apparent to you. By reading the reviews you can judge their quality, and you may agree

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with me that most are too bland and lack depth. You probably do not know how hard it sometimes is to find a well-qualified reviewer when the author expresses gratitude in his preface to a long list of specialists who read his manuscript and contributed help. And I am sure you do not know how many of the reviewers are delinquent. I, too, have sinned in this fashion in the past, but never will again if ever invited to review a book.

It is obvious that the power to accept articles and to select reviewers makes the Managing Editor a distributor of academic loaves and fishes. He can contribute significantly to the success of younger men in the profession. Consequently, the Council looked for a man not only with extensive knowledge and with wise judgment but also with integrity. They found him in Professor Henry Winkler. He has accepted the position of Managing Editor and sometime before September 1 will take over.

The search for exactly the right man to be Executive Secretary has not yet been completed. In many ways this problem is more complicated than finding an Editor. The function of the Executive Secretary is not that solely or chiefly of an administrator. The man who would permit himself to become a housekeeper is not the man who is wanted. It is true that a lot of work is necessary merely to keep the wheels in motion and that it has been increasing. Our membership now exceeds twelve thousand, an increase of nine hundred during the past year. This means more letters to write, and not just the form notices because a member has forgotten to change his address.

We also use routine forms for the many letters received from students not only in grades four through twelve but also from undergradutes who want help in their courses. Some of the numerous letters coming from the public, however, are challenging. What, for instance, would you do with this letter which came last week? Written in Fort Worth, Texas, on December 9, it says:

> Dear Sirs:
> Would you be so kind as to send any kind of material you might have available that would comfort the mother of a fourteen-year old boy whose nose is constantly buried in a history book? Instead of being outdoors doing all the wild things that God intended boys to do, this boy is always indoors tangled up with some history book.
>
> His father is afraid he'll have to support him forever. How can you make a living reading history books?
>
> Sincerely yours,
> Mrs. Joe ———

The routine business of running an organization of twelve thousand members with many activities demands attention, and the Executive Secretary must devote part of his time to it. He must, however, be much more than an administrator. He must be a scholarly statesman with vision and with executive capacity of a high order. As such his opportunities for making an impact on historical scholarship surpass those of the Managing Editor of the *Review*. He should be the leader of the profession. If some field of historical knowledge is threatened with decay, as ancient history has been during the past decade or more, he should be the one to alert the profession and to initiate corrective action. Twenty-five years ago he should have known that we need in the United States some specialists in African history, and he should have taken steps to see that they were prepared. A few

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years ago the Association recognized that it has some responsibility for, and some vital interest in, the teaching of history in the precollege grades. The Service Center is doing valuable work, but the possibilities and need to do more are infinite. The new Executive Secretary has an opportunity and a challenge there, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. At the other end of the scholarly scale is another opportunity for leadership. Anyone who has read the *Annual Reports* of the Association must have noted the increase in recent years of the contacts with scholars and organized scholarship in other countries. Who can doubt that this development is only in its early stages? The Executive Secretary is inevitably the main representative of organized American historical scholarship on the international stage and should be a leader there as well as at home. I repeat, the need and the opportunities for a man of vision, force, and wisdom are great. It is no wonder the Council must act with care and deliberation. An announcement of the appointment will, I hope, be made in the near future.

So far not much has been reported on the work of the year. We operate through many committees, and later you will learn of the Council's action on their recommendations. The details of their operations will be given in the reports that will be published in the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1963.

Let me say only this. The condition of the Association is healthy. Year after year we have lived within our income. Let me identify my political principles at once by saying that the surpluses that we have realized are only justifiable if we are already doing everything we can to promote the study of history in America, which is the way in which our charter describes our purpose. Our various publications have appeared on schedule, although plans are under way to have the *Review* come out earlier in the month of each issue. I should perhaps call your attention to the fact that the Professional Register which the Association maintains for the benefit of institutions and of individual members has an office in the hotel, Room 554. There are somewhere around 150 positions waiting to be filled, and those of you who are seeking new staff can find files on approximately 800 scholars, most of them at or near the beginning of their careers but also including some mature scholars who are willing to move.

One final comment. I am enjoying the association with colleagues in history who appear to me at least to be a select and superior species. I even enjoy some of the work; only there is too much of it.

W. Stull Holt, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE SHERATON HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA DECEMBER 27, 1963, 10:00 A.M.

Present at the meeting were Crane Brinton, President; Julian P. Boyd, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; W. Stull Holt, Executive Secretary; Councilors Robert F. Byrnes, John W. Caughey, W. Clement Eaton, Charles F. Mullett, Gaines Post, Gordon Wright; and former Presidents Samuel Flagg Bemis,

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Carl Bridenbaugh, and Bernadotte Schmitt. Abraham P. Nasatir, President of the Pacific Coast Branch; Walter Rundell, Jr., Assistant Executive Secretary; and Henry Winkler were also present.

The minutes of the October 1963 meeting of the Council, which had been distributed by mail, were approved without reading.

The President proposed and the Council instructed the Executive Secretary to send a telegram expressing best wishes to former President William L. Langer who was recovering from an operation.

The report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* was not read as copies of this report were distributed and would be read at the Business Meeting. The report of the Treasurer, which also had been distributed, was not read for the same reason.

There was a long discussion about the position of Executive Secretary, and the names of a number of scholars were considered. A plan of action was approved by the Council.

The Treasurer and Executive Secretary discussed the proposed revision of the budget for 1963–1964 and the proposed budget for 1964–1965. The two budgets were approved as submitted on a motion by Carl Bridenbaugh, which was unanimously approved. Two questions of policy were raised by the budget and were decided by the Council. The salary of Walter Rundell, Jr., was to be increased in 1964–1965 by the amount the Association had been contributing to a life insurance policy for him, and hereafter life insurance was not to be included among the fringe benefits for the staff of the Association. The other issue of policy involved a suggestion that the life membership of President John F. Kennedy should be granted, as a memorial to him, to all future Presidents of the United States. The suggestion was not adopted.

The President of the Pacific Coast Branch, Abraham P. Nasatir, reported on its activities. A complete report will be printed in the *Annual Report* of the Association, *Proceedings* for 1963.

The Executive Secretary nominated and the Council confirmed the appointments of Robert Palmer as a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* to replace Leo Gershoy, whose term expired, and Gordon Craig and John W. Hall. The last two increased the Board from six to eight members in order to cover fields of history not previously represented by specialists on the Board.

The time and place of future Annual Meetings, all during December 28–30, were announced as follows: the Sheraton and Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., 1964; the San Francisco Hilton, San Francisco, California, 1965; the New York Hilton, New York City, 1966; the Royal York, Toronto, Ontario, 1967; the Conrad Hilton, Chicago, Illinois, 1968. The possibility of changing the time of future meetings was discussed, and Robert Byrnes was asked to submit a report.

The Council, on the recommendation of the Pacific Coast Branch, selected Brainerd Dyer of the University of California, Los Angeles, as Chairman of the the Program Committee and Gerald White of San Francisco State College as Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements for the 1965 meeting.

An amendment to the Constitution of the Association increasing the number of signatures required for the nomination of an officer from the floor from twenty to two hundred had previously been adopted by the Council. It was decided to

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print it in a future issue of the *Newsletter* as a notice to members as required by the Constitution before voting on it in 1964.

A statement defining the powers and duties of the officers was approved for internal use only and was to be distributed to all present and future officers and members of the Council.

For the regular and special committees of the Association, the Council approved nominations for new members made by the Committee on Committees:

Committee on Ancient History.—Chester Starr, University of Illinois, chairman; Paul Alexander, University of Michigan; T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.

Committee on Committees.—Donald Emerson, University of Washington; Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College.

*Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.***—John R. Alden, Duke University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, The Adams Papers; Alfred A. Knopf, New York City; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

*Committee on Graduate Work in History.***—Robert Ferrell, Indiana University, chairman; Thomas Clark, University of Kentucky; Leonard Krieger, University of Chicago; Charles Sellers, University of California (Berkeley); John Snell, Tulane University.

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Kenneth Stampp, University of California (Berkeley), chairman; Richard Current, University of Wisconsin; Frank Vandiver, Rice University.*

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Arthur Bestor, University of Washington; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College; Richard Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Jeannette Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Washington, D. C.

Committee on Honorary Members.—John K. Fairbank, Harvard University, chairman; Oscar Handlin, Harvard University; George Mosse, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Scott, Northwestern University; Howard Cline, Library of Congress; Val R. Lorwin, University of Oregon.*

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Arthur Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Rath, Rice University; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Eugen Weber, University of California (Los Angeles); Raymond Grew, Princeton University;* Richard Pipes, Harvard University.*

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Prize.—Edward Dumbauld, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University;

*New member this year.
**New committee this year.

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David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota; Joseph H. Smith, New York City.

Committee on the Professional Register.—Walter Rundell, Jr., American Historical Association, chairman; Dean Albertson, Brooklyn College; Harold Davis, American University; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Rayford Logan, Howard University.

Committee on Research Needs.—Roderic Davison, George Washington University, chairman; David Donald, Johns Hopkins University; Hunter Dupree, University of California (Berkeley); John Higham, University of Michigan; Leonard Krieger, University of Chicago; Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa; Earl Pritchard, University of Arizona.

Committee on Scholarly Historical Resources.—Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, chairman; David Dowd, University of Florida; Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; John Snell, Tulane University; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota; Melville J. Ruggles, Washington, D. C.;* James E. Skipper, Washington, D. C.;* Howard Cline, Library of Congress.*

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Robert Coon, Lakewood, Colorado; Margareta Faissler, Baltimore, Maryland; Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Jim Pearson, University of Texas; Wilson Smith, Johns Hopkins University;* L. F. Stavrianos, Northwestern University.*

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—William Shanahan, University of Oregon, chairman; Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin; Arthur Wilson, Dartmouth College.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—John Snell, Tulane University, chairman; Victor Mamatey, Florida State University; Charles Delzell, Vanderbilt University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—John Higham, University of Michigan, chairman; Richard Morse, Yale University; David Shannon, University of Wisconsin; James Smith, College of William and Mary; Alexander DeConde, University of California (Santa Barbara).*

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Don Fehrenbacher, Stanford University; Wesley Craven, Princeton University.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Robert J. Walcott, College of Wooster, chairman; Jack Hexter, Washington University; Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College; R. K. Webb, Columbia University; David Willson, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert I. Crane, Duke University, chairman; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota; Stephen Hay, University of Chicago.

Three committees appointed jointly by other historical associations and the American Historical Association are:

Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation.—Mason Wade, Rochester

* New member this year.

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University, chairman;* John Galbraith, University of California (Los Angeles); Robin Winks, Yale University;* W. K. Ferguson, University of Western Ontario; T. M. Hunter, Ottawa, Canada; C. P. Stacey, University of Toronto.

The Historical Association (Britain) and American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks.—E. H. Dance, G. R. Potter, Reginald F. Treharne (British members), and Ray A. Billington, Richard McCormick, Caroline Robbins (United States members).

Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association Committee on Censorship in Textbooks.—Vernon Carstensen, University of Wisconsin, chairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Mississippi Valley Historical Association; John Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); John E. Dickey, Valley Station, Kentucky; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College; Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; R. W. Patrick, University of Florida.

The Executive Secretary is ex officio member of all but the prize committees.

The following delegates of the Association were elected: *Social Science Research Council,* Bernard Bailyn, Harvard University (for the term 1964–1966); *National Historical Publications Commission,* Lyman Butterfield, The Adams Papers.

On the recommendation of the Committee on Honorary Members the Council elected the following historians to honorary membership in the Association, thus bringing the total number to twenty-one: Delio Cantimori (Italy), Sir Winston S. Churchill (England), Pyong-do Yi (Korea), Arnaldo Momigliano (England), Mikhail N. Tikhomirov (USSR), Roland Mousnier (France), Sir Ronald Syme (England).

Recommendations of the Committee on Research Needs, the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, and the Committee on Scholarly Historical Resources overlapped to a considerable degree on important issues. The Council voted to ask the chairmen of these three committees, and the Treasurer and the Executive Secretary, to act as a special committee to consider and consolidate recommendations.

In accordance with recommendations from the committees, the Council agreed to terminate the Committee on Maritime History and the Committee on South Asian History as their work was finished.

The Council voted to request the National Archives to publish a statement on the accessibility to scholars of all types and bodies of government records down to a quarter of a century ago.

The Council endorsed the program of the National Assembly on Teaching the Principles of the Bill of Rights with the understanding that curriculum changes, if any, are not to be made by action of legislatures.

The Council created a new Committee on Graduate Work in History to gather information regarding graduate work in history in the United States, to keep the Association informed of developments, and to make such recommendations as seem appropriate.

The Council received a report from the Special Committee on the Future

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of the Territorial Papers, but substituted for its recommendations the following resolution:

The confidential preliminary report of the Joint Special Committee on the Future of the Territorial Papers of 1 May 1963 addressed to the Council of the American Historical Association and to the Archivist of the United States has a close relationship to the proposal set forth in the *Report to the President* of the National Historical Publications Commission. Both involve the responsibility of the historical profession for documentary sources and both, by implication at least, pose two far-reaching questions: (1) whether the historian's responsibility to the profession and to the public ends with making archival and manuscript records available through dissemination by microfilm or other facsimile reproductions; and (2) whether the historian's responsibility to his own profession and to the general public does or does not require the support and stimulation of that form of historical scholarship lying between the more or less mechanical aids at one extreme and the analytical, interpretative role of the historian at the other—that is, the role of the scholarly editor of documentary sources which began in America more than three centuries before that.

The *Report* of the Commission faces these two questions squarely. The report of the Special Committee on the Territorial Papers, confronted by the overwhelming mass of records and the highly selective specialized character of the twenty-five Carter volumes published in the past thirty years, is less concerned with these underlying concerns of the profession than with the particular problems. The Special Committee, aided by the Archivist of the United States and his staff, has performed an important duty in defining the sheer immensity of the problems of mass, complexity, cost, time, and staff. It has concluded unanimously that editing and publication on the scale and under the method followed by Carter must be rejected for these compelling reasons.

The Committee recommends that the National Archives employ, "in place of the editor of the Territorial Papers . . . a specialist in the history of the American West" to supervise the recommended program of microfilming of Territorial Papers as outlined in the report. Admitting the very great dimensions and complexities of the problem that compelled the Special Committee to reach this conclusion, I cannot recommend its acceptance without modification. First, in its dismissal of the role of the scholarly editor, the report reflects the assumption of many in the profession that all that the scholar needs is accessibility through some form of mechanical reproduction of texts. But technological aids to the historians, like weaponry, cannot be a sole reliance. A function growing out of the tradition of Jameson, Ford, Farrand, Burnett, Carter, and others cannot be so summarily dismissed, no matter how formidable the problems. Second, our concern for the future of the profession as well as our responsibility to the public requires that we should do far more, not less, than we are now doing to sustain this middle function lying between the mechanical reproduction and the interpretation of the sources—to recognize its value, to provide for the training of those competent to discharge it, and to hold forth status and other incentives now generally lacking. Neither the microfilm technician nor the interpretative historian is required to confront the sources with precisely the sort of questions that the scholarly editor must ask of them and the latter, as Carter and others have proved, exposes himself to grave danger if this middle link is discarded. Third, the problems of mass, complexity, and cost are not minimized by dismissing the one specialist who by training and experience is perhaps best qualified to cope with them. Further, one of the Special Committee's reasons for recommending abandonment of the Carter volumes is the assumption that cost would be prohibitive and that the Federal Government would not be likely to sustain such a cost indefinitely. But the proposal of the National Historical Publications Commission, which has called upon the government and private philanthropy to aid the profession in meeting this general responsibility, has already received the highest support of the Chief Executive, has passed the House of Representatives, and will presumably pass the Senate in the next session. That proposal does *not* place its emphasis upon massive multivolume documentary publications: it is concerned about every phase of the problem—the gathering, ordering, controlling, editing, and publi-

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cation by microfilm *and* letterpress of documentary sources of every sort. Most of all it is concerned about the ominous decrease of our seed corn in this area of American historical scholarship. Scholarly editors of competence and experience are extremely rare and they cannot be produced unless the historical profession concerns itself about producing them. We have a right to expect that public funds will be provided even if scholarly editors cannot be found. Those familiar with the Commission's *Report* regret now that it did not call for $1,000,000 a year from the Federal Government for the next ten years instead of half that amount, for had it done so we could look forward with confidence to the appropriation a decade from now of perhaps five times that amount for the gathering, preservation, and dissemination of the documentary sources needed by the historian and by the public. We may safely predict that the Federal Government is *not* going to support the historian in his general function of interpreting the past, even though it has employed historians in its own service and has, perhaps unwittingly, supported the writing of a history of quantum physics with a grant of $200,000. The government, however, has long aided the collection, preservation, editing, and publication of the documentary sources. It is almost certain that it will do so more and more generously in the future. If this is so, it would come at a most inauspicious moment if the profession which has so long argued the case for the scholarly editing and publication of the Territorial Papers should now decide that such an endeavor must be abandoned because the obstacles are so difficult.

I therefore urge that we accept the implications of these general concerns of the historical profession and make the following recommendation to the Archivist of the United States:

(1) That he place the complex problem of the Territorial Papers before the body that has long concerned itself with such matters and in whose jurisdiction this particular problem should lie—that is, the National Historical Publications Commission.

(2) That he recommend to the Commission the employment of a specialist in the history of the American West not in place of but *as* Editor of the Territorial Papers.

(3) That he recommend to the Commission that the unfinished volume of the Territory of Wisconsin be carried to completion by such Editor according to the established plan.

(4) That he recommend to the Commission the publication of the Territorial Papers of those other Territories that became States prior to the Civil War—that is, Iowa, Minnesota, and Oregon—and that the Editor be directed to study the problems presented by the documentation of these three Territories and advise the Commission whether in his opinion the standard set by previous volumes as to scope and degree of selectivity should be maintained or modified.

(5) That he recommend to the Commission that, with respect to the papers of all subsequent Territories, the Editor be directed to bring forward a plan for carrying the total enterprise to completion that would combine publication by microfilm or other cheap means of reproduction and scholarly presentation of highly selected documents of such importance as to be of interest both to the historical profession and to the public, arranged possibly according to topics.

If this recommendation should be adopted, I should like, in conclusion to suggest that the Council express its appreciation to the Archivist for the generous cooperation he has extended to the Special Committee and ask that he inform the Council of any action that he proposes to take on this recommendation. I should also like to recommend that the Special Committee be given particular thanks for the time and thought its members have devoted to this extremely formidable problem. The magnitude of that task is by no means minimized in the recommendation I have made that differs so greatly from theirs. Theirs, indeed, is an understatement, for the Special Committee has omitted the most formidable problem of all—that of finding a qualified scholarly editor to direct all phases of this great task. My recommendation differs from theirs not so much in aim as in asking these two questions of the profession: (1) Where are the Carters, the Farrands, and the Burnetts among the young men and women of the profession today? (2) What are we doing to encourage and nurture their in-

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dispensable form of scholarship? We cannot answer these questions satisfactorily by turning to the microfilm camera.

I must add one further comment. What I have said about the overarching concerns of the profession is applicable to any kind of massive documentation that needs to be made accessible to historians and to the public. But these documents reflecting the growth of the Territories present a subject altogether unique. The statesmen who argued that under the British imperial constitution there was no middle ground between total submission and total independence proceeded in 1784 to find middle ground that the nation has stood on ever since. In a day in which all political empires are shrinking save the one that is still expanding into the Pacific and the Arctic under the principles then established, I for one should regard our profession as having failed in its responsibility toward so significant a fact in world history if we should make no better compromise than to rely on microfilm at one end and interpretation at the other. A compromise must obviously be made, but I think we can make a better one than this.

Respectfully submitted,
Julian P. Boyd

The Council recommended that the resolution on pending legislation on the program of the National Historical Publications Commission be approved at the Business Meeting.

A proposal regarding a history of education in the United States since 1867 was received from Dr. Francis Keppel, United States Commissioner of Education. The Council decided to inform Dr. Keppel that the Association would be interested if satisfactory arrangements could be made.

The Council voted to instruct the delegates of the Association on the American Council of Learned Societies to favor the proposed "Encyclopaedia Medii Aevi."

The proposal received from University Microfilms, Inc., for the microfilming of back and current issues of the *American Historical Review* was referred to the future and present editors of the *Review* for examination and recommendation.

The Council established the Clarence H. Haring Prize with funds raised by a voluntary committee. It will be awarded at five-year intervals beginning in 1965 to the Latin American who in the opinion of a committee of three specialists in Latin American history has published the most outstanding book in the field of Latin American history during the preceding five years. The amount of the prize is five hundred dollars. Stanford University Press has expressed an interest in publishing an English translation of the book so honored.

The Council, on the recommendation of the Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation, established the Albert B. Corey Prize for a manuscript or book on Canadian-American relations. The first award will be made in 1965.

Frank Maloy Anderson, a loyal member of the Association for many years, made three bequests, each of one thousand dollars, in his will to the Association. One was to be used in any way the Association might wish. The Council voted to add it to the general endowment fund. A second bequest was to be used to foster research with respect to the founders of the American Historical Association. The Council voted to use this gift to assist in the publication of a volume of essays on the work of J. Franklin Jameson, now in preparation by a group of scholars. The third bequest was to be used to establish a fund out of which an

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award should be made every tenth year, in the name of Troyer Steele Anderson, to the person whom the Council considers to have made the most outstanding contribution to the advancement of the purposes of the Association during the preceding ten years. The Council voted to make the first award in 1970.

The Executive Committee for 1964 is to consist of Julian P. Boyd, chairman, Frederic C. Lane, Carl Bridenbaugh, Elmer Louis Kayser, Robert F. Byrnes, Charles F. Mullett, and W. Stull Holt. The Finance Committee is to consist of Elmer Louis Kayser, chairman, Julian P. Boyd, and W. Stull Holt.

Mr. W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., of the United States Trust Company was re-elected to the Board of Trustees for a term of five years.

Robert F. Byrnes was selected to draft resolutions to be presented at the Business Meeting.

A communication was received from Dr. George Hallgarten. After discussion it was decided that the Council could not constitutionally take any action. Dr. Bernadotte Schmitt was asked to reply to Dr. Hallgarten.

A protest against holding meetings of the Association on Sunday was discussed and tabled.

The Council adjourned at 4:10 p.m.

W. Stull Holt, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE SHERATON HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA DECEMBER 29, 1963, 4:30 P.M.

President Crane Brinton called the meeting to order with approximately eighty members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR,* LXVIII [Apr. 1963], 896–98) were approved.

The Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, presented his report for 1962–1963. The Association, on August 31, 1963, had cash on hand for general purposes amounting to $102,057.51, an increase of $13,919.84 over the preceding year. Funds, unrestricted as to use of income, in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York under the direction of the Board of Trustees, amount to $299,507.63. These three items (headquarters building and equipment, cash, and invested funds) constitute the total assets of $506,624.98 available for the general purposes of the Association.

Securities in the portfolio of the Matteson Fund amount to $93,715.20, and those in the other special funds of the Association, restricted in purpose, amount to $169,856.28. Unexpended portions of grants made by foundations and others for specified purposes amount to $170,816.99. These various restricted funds total $434,388.47.

Funds, restricted and unrestricted, composing the total assets of the Association amount to $941,013.45 if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. If *market values,* according to the August 31, 1963, appraisal are used, the total assets of the Association amount to $1,254,733.15. There is an increase of $55,994.95 over the preceding year if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. An increase of $142,703.15 over the preceding year is shown if *market*

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values are used, the result of the increase in the value of securities in permanent investment.

The report, which was distributed at the meeting and which may be examined at the Association's headquarters, was accepted without dissent. It will be published in the Association's *Annual Report,* Volume I, *Proceedings,* 1963.

Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University, chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported for the committee. For the officers of the Association the following were nominated for 1964: President, Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Vice-President, Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. Upon motion and instruction the Executive Secretary cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected. Reporting on the mail ballot, Professor Scott announced that Professor Wallace K. Ferguson of the University of Western Ontario and Professor Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University were elected to the Council of the Association and that Professor S. William Halperin of the University of Chicago and Professor John Higham of the University of Michigan were elected to the Nominating Committee. The report was unanimously accepted.

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27 (see pages 917–25). He announced the places of meetings through 1968 and the committee chairmen for the 1964 meeting. He also announced the appointment of Robert Palmer of Washington University to the Board of Editors, replacing Leo Gershoy of New York University whose term had expired; and the addition to the Board of Editors of Professor Gordon Craig of Stanford University and Professor John W. Hall of Yale University to cover fields not previously represented by specialists on the Board. The Executive Secretary called attention to the Clarence H. Haring Prize and the Albert B. Corey Prize, both of which had just been established by the Council. He also announced the action taken on the three bequests received from the will of Frank Maloy Anderson.

The Executive Secretary then presented the following resolution with the recommendation of the Council that it be passed:

> Mindful of the fact that a characteristic of every enlightened nation is its concern for the preservation and study of the essential documents on which a knowledge of its origins and progress must rest; that the federal government has in the past demonstrated an awareness of its responsibility for protecting its own documentary sources and by publication making them more accessible alike to scholars and to the public; that such support is imperative in a free society because the principles of a democracy make it an absolute necessity that the record of the people be kept open, inviolable, and accessible to all in perpetuity; that, in order to ensure that this necessity be met in a manner befitting a free people, additional resources are needed not solely for activities carried on directly by government agencies but also for assistance in the form of grants to encourage parallel and supporting activities of this nature in our educational institutions, libraries, and historical societies, public and private, which now lack resources to make known and generally available rich holdings of historical papers of national significance; that the resources needed for this purpose over a ten-year period and plans for their employment are set forth and justified in convincing manner in the recent *Report to the President Containing a Proposal . . . to Meet Existing and Anticipated Needs over the Next Ten Years under a National Program for the*

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Collection, Preservation, and Publication, or Dissemination by Other Means of the Documentary Sources of American History, prepared by the National Historical Publications Commission and strongly endorsed by our late President, John F. Kennedy; that, in the administration of such resources, it is essential that some public body be given responsibility for calling upon historians, librarians, archivists, administrators of historical societies, and others to advise it so that all proposals coming before it may be placed in competition with each other and their respective merits assessed in a just, balanced, and impartial manner in accordance with the highest standards of historical scholarship; that the National Historical Publications Commission, nonpartisan in its composition, is in fact such a public body, having been called into existence by an act of Congress in 1934; and that the commission has demonstrated in its past record of achievements as well as in its new *Proposal* that it is a body deserving of confidence and qualified to administer the resources to be made available for its proposed "National Program" set forth in its *Report:* therefore, be it

Resolved: That the American Historical Association fully endorses the proposal set forth in the *Report to the President* by the National Historical Publications Commission and emphatically urges the Congress of the United States to adopt the proposed legislation in order to meet this imperative national need in a manner appropriate to this nation and to its achievements.

Resolved, further, that these resolutions and their preamble be printed and that a copy be sent to every member of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

On motion, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Professor Abraham P. Nasatir of San Diego State College gave the report of the Pacific Coast Branch.

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor Robert Byrnes proposed the following:

Resolved, that the members of the American Historical Association express their most profound grief to Mrs. John Fitzgerald Kennedy for the tragic and senseless death of her husband, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, an active life member of the Association. He was a young man who gave new life and vigor to the arts and all intellectual activity. He was blessed with an understanding of our age and of our future which illumined his country and the world. He was a statesman whose courage in all matters was equaled only by his magnanimity. President Kennedy in his private and public life exemplified our finest national ideals. He honored us all. We salute him. We grieve with you and your children.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the American Historical Association express its gratitude to Professor Hilary Conroy and his colleagues on the Program Committee for the fascinating and provocative sessions which provided us such stimulation and to Professor Clement Motten and the members of his committee for the comfortable and efficient conditions they so skillfully arranged. The members of both committees have been faithful to the splendid traditions of the city of Philadelphia in the care and friendly spirit with which we have been made welcome, and the papers presented have reflected the high quality which their efforts richly deserve.

This resolution, too, was adopted.

As no other business was proposed, President Brinton, on the motion of Professor Lawrence Gipson, one of the oldest members of the profession and of the Association, adjourned the meeting at 5:25 p.m.

W. Stull Holt, *Executive Secretary*

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Editorial

A Publisher to Historians

It is indeed extraordinary for the announcement of a new award by a publisher to be in effect an editorial for a scholarly profession. Yet such is Alfred A. Knopf's statement about the award he has just established. The prize is for a manuscript in western American history. The thoughts that inspired it apply to work in all fields of history. He writes:

It was more than fifty years ago that I fell in love with history and began to cultivate the friendship of historians. It all began in 1909, when, a Sophomore, I happened to enroll for a lecture course at Columbia University given by William R. Shepherd and sat enthralled for the fifty minutes he talked about Philip II of Spain, of whom, up to then, I had never heard. Not much later I joined the American Historical Association, and I recall with nostalgia the tight little meetings held at the old Waldorf-Astoria, at which we were fed only one paper at a time. Distinguished men attended. It was an age of comparative innocence, for I remember the shock when Professor George M. Wrong of Toronto, with His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Lord Bryce in the audience, referred to Canada as, let us say, semi-independent.

Scholarship has come a long way since then, but, alas, the ability of scholars to write with style and elegance has not kept pace. Style and elegance were what my old friend the late Walter P. Webb told me, in the last letter I ever received from him, that I, a sophisticated city slicker, demanded.

I lost no time in telling him that I no longer entertained any such ambition; that reading manuscripts by living historians had cut me down to size and that all I now longed for was simple, straightforward, good English prose that expressed the author's ideas clearly. With certain exceptions—I shall name no names on either side of the scoreboard, for I still want to keep my friends in the profession—that is what I know from sad experience I can seldom find.

I do not know whether good writing can be taught any more, for only those who can write well are fit to teach others, and one of the elder statesmen and conspicuously fine writers among you told me not long ago that he has concluded that a man is either born with this gift or can never acquire it. However, I want to make one more attempt to encourage western historians to pay adequate attention to style. And so, since there are prizes enough that are intended primarily to reward sound scholarship, which I think we should be able to take for granted today, we will, in 1965—the year in which we complete our first half century of publishing—award a prize of five thousand dollars to what we regard as the best-written manuscript in the field of western American history among those submitted to us prior to October 31, 1964. Western is to be taken in the sense of west of the great Missouri. Such a manuscript would have to be really well written: to award the prize to a work, however sound in scholarship or interesting in other ways, which was badly written would disgrace us all and defeat my whole purpose. Consequently, much as I regret the necessity of any escape clause in a matter of this kind, we reserve the right to make no award if no worthy manuscript comes our way.

Alfred A. Knopf

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Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received almost three thousand papers of Daniel Carroll of "Duddington," one of the principal owners of land on which the city of Washington was built, as a gift from Mrs. Harry G. Meem and her daughter, Mrs. Ann Carroll Meem Rogers. Although the material extends in date from 1662 to 1910, most manuscripts are dated between 1791 and 1868 and concern the real-estate and other business interests of this large landowner. The papers of American diplomat Laurence A. Steinhardt (1892–1950), presented to the Library by his widow, Mrs. Dulcie Steinhardt-Beau, consist mainly of correspondence and cover the entire period of Steinhardt's diplomatic career. Approximately 11,800 papers of American astronomer and mathematician Thomas Jefferson Jackson See have also been received as a gift from his niece, Mrs. Ada B. See, and her son, Ernest See.

Existing groups of personal papers have been enriched. The public-spirited family of President James A. Garfield added over eight hundred unbound letters and more than sixty volumes comprised of letter books, material on his law cases (1866–1877), and scrapbooks (1860–1881). Probably the most valuable portion of this segment is the correspondence exchanged with his wife, Lucretia Rudolph Garfield, between 1853 and 1881. The Library has also received additional papers of Gutzon Borglum as a gift from his son, Lincoln Borglum. They include approximately fifteen hundred papers received by the distinguished sculptor from 1898 to 1939.

Among recent National Archives accessions are records of the Internal Revenue Service relating to the collection of the direct tax in certain southern states, 1864–1866; records of the Division of Engineering of the Bureau of Land Management, 1919–1962, relating to special surveys made because of new land uses or for other reasons; reports on the Philippine Health Rehabilitation Program undertaken in the islands by the US Public Health Service, 1946–1949; records of the Rubber Reserve Company and its successors relating to the development of synthetic rubber, 1942–1955; and 2,200 photographic negatives showing the repair and alteration of ships and other phases of the operation of the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, 1907–1921.

The Ford Motor Company has given its Historical Film Collection to the US government for deposit in the National Archives. The collection consists of some 1,800,000 feet of documentary film made chiefly in the years 1914–1930.

Among microfilm publications recently completed are the Letters Received by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of the General Land Office from the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1797–1849 (10 rolls); Records of the Department of State, 1910–1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Argentina (44 rolls), of Italy (60 rolls), and of the Papal States (1 roll), and to Political Relations between the United States and Argentina (1 roll), the United States and the Papal States (1 roll), Argentina and Other States (1 roll), Italy and Other States (8 rolls), and the Papal States and Other States (1 roll). Also recently microfilmed are the Letters Received by the Con-

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federate Secretary of War, 1861–1865 (151 rolls), by the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General, 1861–1865 (164 rolls), and by the Secretary of War, Irregular Series, 1861–1866 (36 rolls); and Registers of Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Irregular Series, 1861–1866 (4 rolls), and of Letters Received by the Secretary of War from the President, Executive Departments, and War Department Bureaus, 1862–1870 (12 rolls).

A corporation has been formed to raise the necessary funds and to erect the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library building. Deposited in the library will be not only materials that have been placed in earlier presidential libraries (the papers of the President and the personal papers of his friends and associates and of members of his family) but also microfilm copies of those segments of the records of each government agency that reveal the ideas, activities, and interests of President Kennedy and his immediate staff and their influence on the work of the agency, as well as other government records that are concerned with the major issues of the Kennedy period. An oral history program envisaging interviews with all important officials of the Kennedy administration, as well as with the late President's friends, will also be undertaken.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of David D. Lloyd and David H. Stowe, former administrative assistants to President Truman, a large organized clipping file from the Democratic National Committee library, and a collection of photostats and carbon copies of documents from the Weizmann Archives in Israel. Transcripts of oral history interviews with Donald Hansen and Walter Matscheck were completed and opened for research use.

The Department of State recently revised its rules governing access to its records. For many years the records of the Department have been divided into three periods: open, restricted, and closed. The open period formerly ran through 1929; the restricted period covered 1930 through 1941; the closed period was from 1942 to the present. The new regulations retain the same three periods for access purposes, but the fixed dates have been removed in favor of a system of progressive opening geared to the publication of the Department's series *Foreign Relations of the United States*. Thus the closed period is now defined as the period in advance of the *Foreign Relations* series, and the beginning date of the closed period will be advanced automatically as the *Foreign Relations* volumes are published. The restricted period is defined as the ten years before the closed period, and the open period covers earlier records. Since the *Foreign Relations* volumes have now been published for 1942 and are being released for 1943, the terminal date of the restricted period has been advanced to 1943 while the terminal date of the open period has been advanced from 1929 to January 1, 1933. Applications for access to records of the open period may be made to the National Archives, Washington, D. C. 20408; applications for access to the restricted period should be made to the Historical Office, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20520.

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The George C. Marshall Research Foundation is building a library in Lexington, Virginia, in memory of General Marshall. The library will be dedicated May 23, 1964. Many of Marshall's private and public papers, including previously classified material, will be made available to researchers. Inquiries should be addressed to the Foundation, Box 831, Lexington, Virginia.

The Lehigh University Library has received the congressional papers of Francis E. Walter, former US representative from the Fifteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania. The documents will be available for study following examination and arrangement of the collection.

International Historical Activities

The annual Anglo-American Conference of Historians met at the Institute of Historical Research, London, July 11–13, 1963. Professor Brand (Stanford) presided over the opening session at which Professor Hurstfield (London) spoke on "The Age of Political Corruption." At the concluding general meeting, Professor J. H. Franklin (Brooklyn) spoke on "The Military Occupation of the South," a revisionist interpretation. There were very lively and learned discussions of "The Rise of Disraeli," R. W. Blake (Oxford); "The Historical Interest of the Alfredian Translations," Professor Whitelock (Cambridge); and "British Policy towards the United States, 1783–1793," Professor C. R. Ritcheson (Kenyon, Gambia), among others. Professor Carlson (Claremont) dealt with "Elizabethan Separatism," and Professor D. Willson (Minnesota) discussed "The Union of the Crowns." Medieval studies were represented by J. C. Dickinson (Birmingham) on "The Expansion of New Monastic Orders, c. 1050–1150"; by K. B. MacFarlane (Oxford) on "The Education of the Nobility in Later Medieval England"; and by Dr. G. Leff (Manchester) on "Learning and Heresy in the Later Middle Ages." Modern European history included papers by Professor R. G. Glover (Manitoba) on "Bonaparte at Boulogne" and Dr. J. H. Jensen (Rutgers) on "British Railroad Builders along the Lower Danube, 1856–69." At the conference dinner Professor Helen Cam gracefully reminisced about earlier Anglo-American Conferences and conferees.

A conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions was held at Trinity College, Dublin, August 27–30, 1963. Professor Otway-Ruthven planned the conference, and very hospitable arrangements were made for members to visit places of interest both in Dublin and more distant sites like Malahide, Glendalough, and Clonmacnoise. Ten countries participated with Professors Ault, Gerhard, Haskins, Robbins, and Szeftel from the US commission. Papers were read on a common topic: deputies and members, considered in periods ranging from the Irish representatives of the fourteenth century (Dr. Lydon of Trinity College, Dublin) to deputies in the chambers of Imperial Russia, 1905–1907 (Dr. Szeftel of Washington, Seattle). Professor Haskins (Pennsylvania) started the proceedings with a paper on the

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corporate and parliamentary traditions in early New England. Professor Gerhard (Washington, St. Louis) followed with an examination of problems in the eighteenth century. Professor Robbins spoke on the duties and activities of a seventeenth-century M.P., Andrew Marvell, and Professor Benedetó on deputations in the dominions of the House of Savoy. Professors Buch, Smets, and Stroobant jointly presented work on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Belgian representation. Dr. Bonis talked about the Hungarian feudal diet, 1790–1848, and Dr. Roele about the ideas of representation among French revolutionaries. Dr. Cromwell of Cambridge discussed the influence of private members on foreign policy in mid-nineteenth-century England.

At the business meeting presided over by Professor Lousse of Louvain, the Congress of Vienna in 1965 was mentioned, and it was agreed to make further plans for that meeting next year when the commission meets in Bavaria to examine problems in taxation and representation—the topic also suggested for 1965.

The Society for French Historical Studies, the *Société d'histoire moderne,* the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, and the American Philosophical Society are cooperating in a Franco-American Colloquium on September 9–12, 1964. For additional information, write Professor Frances Childs, President, 167 East 82nd Street, New York, New York 10028.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The following received grants from the National Institutes of Health for work in the history of medicine and the life sciences: Harold J. Abrahams, Garland Allen, Jo Ann Carrigan, Raymond Clements, Paul Cranefield, Charles Crowe, Philip H. DeLacy, Sigmund Diamond, Thomas R. Forbes, Harold Fruchtbaum, Gerald N. Grob, David L. Krantz, Sanford V. Larkey, Martin Levey, Loren MacKinney (now deceased), Alfred Miller, Genevieve Miller, Sussmann Muntner, Lelland J. Rather, Arthur J. Viseltear, Richard Wagner, Robert I. Watson, Dora Weiner, Eunice Winters, James H. Young.

Twelve historians received grants-in-aid from the American Association for State and Local History. They are: Richard O. Curry, Don R. Gerlach, Victor R. Greene, Gerald N. Grob, C. Alan Hutchinson, Harold D. Langley, Leedell W. Neyland, Sidney I. Roberts, Donald M. Roper, Edgar A. Toppin, Donald J. Tweton, and Robert F. Wesser. For applications and information concerning these awards, write the Association, 151 East Gorham Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

The American Catholic Historical Association awarded the John Gilmary Shea Prize to Oscar Halecki, as the American Catholic author making the most original and distinguished contribution to historical knowledge, for his book *The Millennium of Europe.*

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C. Warren Hollister has received the second triennial prize of the Conference on British Studies for his *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions,* considered the best first book on a subject in British or Commonwealth history by an American or Canadian scholar.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies' citation for the year preceding July 1, 1963, for a published work of extraordinary merit and distinguished achievement in Italian history was awarded to Lauro Martines for *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists.* Ronald S. Cunsolo received the Society's prize award for his paper entitled "Libya, Italian Nationalism, and the Revolt against Giolitti."

The Ralph Waldo Emerson Award, offered annually by Phi Beta Kappa to recognize comprehensive studies that contribute a deeper understanding of the intellectual and cultural condition of man and thus carry forward the great tradition of humane learning, was presented to Richard Hofstadter for his *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life.*

Publications

The American Council of Learned Societies asks interested scholars to call to its attention titles of books in the humanities and social sciences written in languages not widely known in this country. The ACLS has initiated a program devoted to making such works available by sponsoring their translation into English. Works proposed for translation should be major works of scholarship not available in French, German, Spanish, or Italian, and suggestions should be addressed to the Scholarly Translations Program, American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017. Each nomination should include an analytical précis of the book in either English or French, together with the name and address of at least one scholarly authority who is competent to evaluate the work's importance to American scholars.

As an early step toward closer cooperation in acquisitions and service, five major research libraries in Delaware have published a *Union List of Newspapers in Microform.* Holdings in 106 newspaper titles are listed for the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, the Historical Society of Delaware, the Wilmington Institute Free Library, and the University of Delaware Library. The *List* shows inclusive holding dates and includes references from variant titles. An annual revision is planned.

The American West, to be published early in 1964, is the official publication of the Western History Association. A. R. Mortensen of the University of Utah Press and C. Gregory Crampton of the University of Utah will edit the quarterly.

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Other Historical News

At a meeting of the Conference on British Studies in New York, November 2, 1963, Helen Taft Manning was named President, and W. K. Jordan became a member of the executive committee. G. R. Elton spoke on the Tudor constitution; W. H. Dunham, Lawrence Stone, and Wallace MacCaffrey commented.

At the annual meeting of the Society for Italian Historical Studies in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 28, 1963, William Halperin was elected President, and Howard Marraro was re-elected Executive Secretary-Treasurer.

Officers of the Western History Association for 1964 include: O. O. Winther, President; Robert G. Athearn, Vice-President; and John Porter Bloom, Secretary-Treasurer. The Council consists of John Francis Bannon, S.J., Ray Allen Billington, John W. Caughey, W. Eugene Hollon, Walter Rundell, Jr., Don Russell, and Robert M. Utley.

Recent Deaths

Edward Allen Whitney, a life member of the Association, died June 27, 1962.

Theodore F. Collier, who became a member of the Association in 1905, died at Tryon, North Carolina, April 9, 1963, at the age of eighty-eight. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Hamilton College and attended Union Theological Seminary and the Universities of Berlin and Marburg before earning his doctorate at Cornell University in 1906. He wrote his dissertation on "The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier." After two years at Williams College, Dr. Collier moved to Brown University in 1907 and remained there until his retirement in 1944. For twenty-two years of his tenure at Brown, he served as head of the history department. From 1945 to 1952, he was visiting professor at Rollins College. He also spent the academic year 1924–1925 at the American College for Women in Constantinople. Dr. Collier displayed wide erudition on many subjects, but he confined his area of specialization to that of modern Europe and especially to the field of international relations. He published *A New World in the Making* (1919) and contributed articles and reviews to many journals including the *Review*. He was an inspiring personality who tempered the facts of history with wisdom and philosophical insight.

Loren Carey MacKinney, Kenan Professor of Medieval History at the University of North Carolina, died October 27, 1963. Born at Lake Crystal, Minnesota, December 16, 1891, he received the B.A. degree, Phi Beta Kappa, from Lawrence College (1913), the M.A. from the University of Wisconsin (1916), and the Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1925). He began his teaching career at North Side High School in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1914 and later taught at William Jewell College (1919–1922), Knox College (1923–1924), Louisiana State University (1925–1929), and Ohio State University (1929–1930).

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He was appointed professor of medieval history at the University of North Carolina in 1930 and named Kenan Professor in 1955. Over the years he held summer appointments at the state universities of Illinois, California, Virginia, and Colorado, and at Stanford University.

During his long and distinguished career Professor MacKinney contributed more than fifty articles to leading historical reviews and medical journals, and chapters to seven collaborative works in medieval and medical history. One of these was the UNESCO *Scientific and Cultural History of Medicine 1300–1798* of which he was associate editor. He wrote a widely used textbook, *The Medieval World* (1938), and two significant special studies: *Early Medieval Medicine: With Special Reference to France and Chartres* (1937) and *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (1957). MacKinney's special interest was medieval medical history, and during the last ten years he sought out and catalogued illuminated medical manuscripts and miniatures throughout Europe and behind the iron curtain. He had completed a major work titled "Early Medicine in Illuminated Manuscripts," which will appear in 1964 under the imprint of The Wellcome Medical Library of London.

Professor MacKinney's classroom teaching was characterized by his enthusiasm for his subject, and he became a popular general lecturer. He was Noguchi Lecturer in Medicine at Johns Hopkins University in 1936, and he gave lectures on medieval medicine at other leading universities, including Yale, Duke, Chicago, Wisconsin, and California, and before medical organizations including the New York Academy of Medicine, the American Academy of the History of Medicine, Dumbarton Oaks, and the International Congress of Medicine. MacKinney was active in professional organizations. He was a member of the Council of the Mediaeval Academy of America, the editorial board of *Manuscripta,* and of the *Commission de Bibliographie de l'Académie International de Sciences.* He served on various committees of the American Historical Association, including the Committee on Nominations of which he was chairman. And he was for five years a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review.*

Albert B. Corey, a long-time member and valued worker in this Association and in wider purviews of scholarship in the United States and Canada, died on November 9, 1963, as the result of an automobile accident on the New York Thruway while engaged in his duties as historian of the state of New York. Dr. Corey was born in Madras, India, December 17, 1898. He graduated from Acadia Collegiate Academy in 1915 and from Acadia College in 1922. During the First World War he served in the Royal Flying Corps. After the war he looked to teaching as a career and took his M.A. in history from Acadia in 1923, again from Harvard in 1924, and his Ph.D. from Clark University in international relations in 1934. Dr. Corey's academic career followed in the United States first at Waynesburg College, and then at St. Lawrence University, where he served from 1927 to 1944. In 1944 he became state historian of New York and director of the Division of Archives and History in the State Education Department. Perhaps his most far-reaching service in the field of history was

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his organization, together with the late Professor Reginald G. Trotter, of the four biennial conferences on Canadian-American affairs held in the period between the two world wars under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Corey and Trotter edited four volumes of the *Proceedings of the Canadian-American Historical Conferences.* He himself edited Volumes X–XII of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson,* which came out in the years 1950–1957. He was the author of *The Crisis of 1830–42 in Canadian-American Relations* (1941) and of numerous published articles relating to New York history. He was one of the founders of *American Heritage* magazine and served as officer of historical societies and museums in New York State. He also was a trustee of the Foreign Policy Association. At the time of his death, Dr. Corey was chairman of the American contingent of the joint committee for collaboration between the American Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association.

Albert Corey leaves many devoted friends and colleagues on both sides of the Canadian-American border.

Francis T. Williamson, minister in the Foreign Service of the United States, died in Rome on February 7, 1964. He had long been a member of the Association.

Newton D. Mereness, a life member of the Association, died recently.

John A. Kemp, S.J., professor at Loyola University, died recently at the age of fifty-one.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

As a librarian I appreciate the recent bibliographical articles sponsored by the Conference on British Studies. These articles, when checked against a library's holdings, help ensure purchase of important materials that might otherwise be missed. But I must raise a question or two about the recent article "British History, 1870–1914, Reconsidered: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the Period" (*AHR,* LXVIII [July 1963], 987–1009). To be perfectly frank, the article contains many errors.

May I point out a few? The author haphazardly cites English or American editions, never indicating that the book was published elsewhere, or in another edition, with a variant title. As an example, Robert Blake's *Unrepentant Tory: The Life and Times of Andrew Bonar Law, 1858–1923* (New York, 1956), appeared in 1955 in England as *The Unknown Prime Minister: The Life and Times of Andrew Bonar Law, 1858–1923.* Then such a book as Magnus' *Gladstone: A Biography* (London and New York, 1954) was reprinted with corrections in 1960; perhaps the corrections are minor, but the reader cannot know from this article.

I find remarkable errors of carelessness: the author misspells names, as Frank Bealey becomes Frank Bealy (p. 1000); Richard M. Titmuss becomes Richard H. Titmuss (pp. 989, 1000); Jean van der Poel becomes Jean van de Poel (p.

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1003). Perhaps these errors could be excused if the titles of the books were accurate. R. S. Churchill's *Lord Derby, "King of Lancashire": the Official Life of Edward, Seventeenth Earl of Derby, 1865–1948,* becomes *King of Lancashire: The Official Life of Edward, 17th Earl of Derby, 1865–1948* (p. 998). The author omits the word "British" in David Roberts' *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State,* published incidentally in 1960, not 1961 (p. 1009). He also omits the series statement in this book as apparently of no importance. Frequently qualifying dates in a title are omitted, as on page 1008, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830–1870;* and page 1009, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950;* and page 998, *The Passing of the Whigs, 1832–1886.* Apparently unhappy with one author's choice of a subtitle, he changes it. William Ashworth's book *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning: A Study in the Economic and Social History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* is changed to cover only the nineteenth century (p. 990). I know of a book by Christopher Hassall called *Edward Marsh, Patron of the Arts: A Biography* (London, 1959) in the English edition and an American edition called *A Biography of Edward Marsh* (New York, 1959), but am unable to find a book by the same author, published in the same year at either place, with the title *Edward Marsh and His Friends* (p. 1007). He also suggests to Charlotte Erickson that her book *British Industrialists: Steel and Hosiery, 1840–1940,* should be known only by its subtitle (p. 995). If a person cannot find a book using an incorrect title, and a misspelled author's name, how does the author of this article expect it to be found?

There are other problems in this article. The series statement "Webb Memorial Lectures, 1952," is omitted from Tawney's book on the Webbs, and what the peculiar imprint date "1952 and 1953" implies the reader is not quite sure (p. 1000). Even Lyons' book on Parnell need not necessarily be designated as the first volume of the second series of *Studies in Irish History,* or mention made of its publication in the same year at Toronto (p. 1002), but it is a violation of bibliographical common sense not to identify David V. (not J.) Glass's study, *The Trend and Pattern of Fertility in Great Britain: A Report on the Family Census of 1946* as a government sponsored publication. This two-volume study was issued in typescript in January 1955 (not 1954) as the sixth volume of the *Papers* of the British Royal Commission on Population. In a library where government publications are distinct from other publications, a prospective user would never know from the entry that he should seek a government publication. The prospective user would then do one of three things: he would leave the library without the book; submit an interlibrary loan request; or curse the short-sighted librarian who supposedly did not buy this book. Of the last, I am certain. In a time when library catalogues are growing rapidly and becoming more complex, it is the duty of each compiler of any type of bibliography to give as much information as possible within the limitations of space. Reference librarians, accustomed to "playing detective" for a patron who has an imperfect remembrance of a book, certainly do not expect to do the same work for books cited from as impeccable a source as the *Review.*

Space limitations, and a desire to avoid an even more monotonous and dreary list of corrected titles, prevent me from citing all the errors present in the article. If the recent trend in the historiography of our period is toward a sloppy, careless, random bibliographic survey, the responsibility of graduate schools training future historians is clear.

I am sorry to write this letter to the *Review,* as I am not accustomed to doing

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letter writing of this sort. Still, I showed a draft of the letter to two members of the Indiana University history department, with whom I work closely, and they insisted that I send the letter.

Indiana University ERWIN K. WELSCH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Let me state what I had assumed was self-evident. The article in question was never intended to be a bibliographical compilation. One of its underlying assumptions was that most, if not all of the books and articles referred to in it had already been reviewed or listed in the *American Historical Review* or comparable publications accessible to librarians. What it attempted to do was, rather, to analyze and comment upon certain trends in recent British historical writing, and to accomplish this in a literate manner, without breaking up the text too much with bibliographical details. Thus no particular effort was made to supply information about series, reprints, and alternate plates of publication; nor to supply subtitles in the case of such well-known books as *The Victorian Frame of Mind* and *Culture and Society,* both out in paperback.

This does not, of course, condone or excuse errors of commission; and the correction of these I gratefully accept and shall certainly incorporate in the article when it appears in book form with the others in the series. My contrition is somewhat tempered by the thought that none of them has the slightest bearing on the substantive points made in the article, and by real doubt as to whether anyone would in fact have serious trouble in locating the books mentioned. (Even Mr. Welsch's prize exhibit, the study by David V. Glass *and* E. Grebenik, is duly listed under the names of its authors, and with a publication date of 1954, in *The Library of Congress National Union Catalog* [1953–57], IX, 153, 483. The same date, by the way, is imprinted on the volumes themselves.)

Mr. Welsch is rightly concerned about the training of graduate students. Is it worth suggesting that there are no more salutary lessons for those students to learn than that even professors can make mistakes, that there exist watchful and public-spirited people like Mr. Welsch who correct these mistakes and bring them to the attention of readers, that there is a difference between what is essential and what is not, and that it may be possible to correspond about these matters with fairness, courtesy, and a sense of proportion?

University of Chicago JOHN CLIVE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Miss Thrupp's review of my recent book on *Economic Growth* (*AHR,* LXVIII [July 1963], 1110) gives the reader no idea of my argument and castigates me for views I do not hold. Moreover its tone is one of almost hysterical venom. I am driven therefore to answer it publicly.

My book is an attempt to refute the fashionable notion that later medieval England was a depressed area. I have argued that loss of population in an overcrowded country must leave the mass of survivors materially better off than they were before, as the Irish found after the nineteenth-century famines; that the later medieval population was better off not only because there were more land and equipment to go round, but also because England had started to industrialize in the fourteenth century and went on industrializing for the rest

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of the Middle Ages; and finally that the prosperity of English towns at this period, so far as one can ascertain by studying the records of admissions to the freedom and the taxation accounts of the central government, enormously strengthens the case for regarding the economy as growing rather than shrinking.

This is a bald summary of a complicated argument about which a medieval scholar ought to have interesting things to say. But what does Miss Thrupp do? She starts by stumbling over my Irish analogy though I emphasized on pages 90–91 that the contrast between an industrializing country like later medieval England and an obstinately and unprogressively agricultural one like postfamine Ireland is immense and unbridgeable. She then traduces me for not explaining how and why economic growth came to an end in the thirteenth century though I have devoted the early pages of Chapters v and vi to these very problems. Next she takes exception to my "blandly asserting" that English cloth exports were negligible before 1330. At this point Miss Thrupp gets into deeper waters. If I may put the matter as moderately as I can, Miss Thrupp has been a medievalist for long enough to have acquainted herself with the work of Professor Carus-Wilson and to know that my bland assertion is no more than a paraphrase of what Professor Carus-Wilson has concluded on page 242 of her *Medieval Merchant Venturers*. Her next sally takes Miss Thrupp right out of her depth. She censures me for "not having worked in the vast records on the medieval peasantry. . . ."

A student of medieval English life may be excused for pausing at this point whilst he struggles to comprehend the dumfounding ignorance that Miss Thrupp betrays in this extraordinary sentence. That there are no such records is one vital reason why there is so much debate about the problems with which I am concerned and why I have turned to urban records in an attempt to see the level of rural economic activity reflected in the level of activity in the towns. Why there should be no such records is very well known as I have explained on page 39.

Finally Miss Thrupp cannot stomach the idea that when labor is dirt cheap, as it was in the thirteenth century, businessmen do not install laborsaving devices like mills in order to free labor for other occupations. It is disheartening to perceive that Miss Thrupp's grasp of economic analysis is no better than her grasp of the problems of medieval history. Or are her complaints against me simply the product of an unconscious protest against the reflection that she may have to rewrite her lectures?

London School of Economics and Political Science A. R. Bridbury

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

My old friend Professor Carus-Wilson well knows my respect for her work and that my review of the doctoral thesis that Mr. Bridbury wrote under her direction some years ago was a generous one. His new essay is, however, a mere footnote to views that she and others have already propounded. My prejudice, if such it be, is in favor of reserving book publication and detailed reviewing to work of more complex argument and solid research. I write surrounded by microfilm of a variety of types of document that teem with data on the economic activity even of peasants. May I add that I look forward to better work from Mr. Bridbury when he has gone rather more deeply into the abundant town records of the period that still await systematic research.

University of Michigan Sylvia L. Thrupp

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Robert I. Rotberg's "The Teaching of African History" (*AHR*, LXIX [Oct. 1963], 47–63) is a curious and occasionally disturbing undertaking. It does not deal with historical method. It is not an annotated bibliographical article. It is not an attempt to interpret or even evaluate a literature basic to the field. Professor Rotberg is proposing a course outline, a syllabus for use in college classrooms. His subject and "message" necessarily limit the audience to those already teaching or about to teach African history. Here, we come to the first problem of "professional concern." Is he really claiming that current and potential teachers of African history are unfamiliar with most of some 230 works listed in his syllabus? He calls *A Short History of Africa* (1962) the "best introductory synthesis," but neglects to state that it is already standard classroom fare, that it, too, offers a "periodization" of African history, and that some 170 works are listed in its authors' own version of what a "basic syllabus" ought to include. One can easily overlook a rather puzzling lecture on the *ABC's* of Africana to an audience that is more than likely far better informed than Professor Rotberg seems to think. Unfortunately, he is proposing to "standardize" all of us without much more than a "limited experience" in a field that is just beginning to develop a few critical standards.

To start with, North Africa from Morocco to Egypt is once again being left out as something on the margins of "tropical" Africa. No Africanist historian of stature would today accept this omission, and Bovill, whose *Caravans of the Old Sahara* (1933) is cited by Dr. Rotberg, would be the first one to dissent vigorously. Madagascar as well remains in splendid isolation presumably because of its mythical "Mongoloid race" and "Indonesian language." Next, we are told that the course bibliography "should primarily mention only those titles which are reasonably available and suitable for students who read French and German with some difficulty." Listed a few pages later are books and monographs by Monteil, Rouch, Urvoy, Ducasse, Marc, Delafosse, Saintoyant, Arcin, Cultru, Gaffarel, Terrier, Rouget, Villard, Aby, Balandier, Van der Kerken, and Labrique. It is still easier to acquire Urvoy than Cultru, and anyone who can read Balandier's *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (1955), which is cited, should have no difficulty reading almost any other book in French. In respect to French-language literature, Dr. Rotberg opens himself to the serious charge that "availability" and linguistic "difficulties" of students are used to minimize an inadequate personal knowledge. He rescues, for example, a relatively minor article by Delafosse, but there is no reference to the great classic, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (3 vols., 1911–12), to which many new historians are rather heavily indebted. On the Mossi, we are served Lieutenant Marc (1909) who, to say the least, should be read "in conjunction with" Louis Tauxier's *Nouvelles Notes sur le Mossi et le Gourounsi* (1924), Georges Chéron's *Contribution à l'Histoire du Mossi* (1924), A. A. Dim Delobsom's *L'Empire du Mogho-Naba* (1932), to name but a few subsequent contributions. French expansion into Africa is underpinned by seven citations (four French and three English), but one cannot find the crucial *Mythes et Réalités de l'Impérialisme Colonial Français, 1871–1914* (1960), by Henri Brunschwig. Similarly, on Western Sudanic empires there is no reference to works of fundamental importance, like the Houdas-Delafosse translations of Kati's *Tarikh el-Fettach* (1913) and Houdas' translation of Es-Sa'di's *Tarikh es-Sudan* (1900). Raymond Mauny is credited with a brief

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English-language article where it would have been far more appropriate to mention his substantial *Tableau Géographique de l'Ouest Africain au Moyen Âge* (1961). It would not be difficult to add another two hundred sources from the French side.

Dr. Rotberg seems to have a peculiar conception of works that "belong" to the field of African history. Anthropological materials, even in the English tongue, are almost entirely disregarded as a source that historians can tap with profit. The late Professor Herskovits' important *Dahomey, An Ancient West African Kingdom* (2 vols., 1938) is omitted in favor of a 1793 work by Dalzel (which is almost impossible to obtain). He has managed to miss a unique work on method by Jan Vansina, *De la Tradition Orale: Essai de Méthode Historique* (1961), which is now being translated into English and Portuguese and which will teach an entire new generation of Africanist historians how to cope with paucity of written materials while doing their field work. On Yoruba kingdoms, he lists Willett's brief article on Ife archaeology but not Nadel's *A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria* (1942, reprinted 1961). Sir John Gray's indispensable *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856* (1962) is not even mentioned. Dr. Rotberg is equally not immune from including books where they clearly do not belong, an error that reinforces a strong impression that he is presenting us with a *collage* from undigested bibliographies. By way of examples, *Continuity and Change in African Cultures* (1959) and *Cultures and Societies of Africa* (1960) appear in the prehistory rubric although none of the combined forty-eight articles deal with prehistory and only three allude to it. Ibn Battuta is indeed an "important source" but the *recommended* translation by H. A. R. Gibb (*Travels in Asia and Africa, 1326–1354*) is virtually useless to students of African history, to which less than 20 out of 339 text pages are devoted.

Finally, what is one to make of the "message" about four major periods in African history and the claim that the "impact and importance of the colonial experience justify devoting the larger portion of time to it"? The periods given are: prehistory, 1000 B.C.–A.D. 155, seventh to the fifteenth century (what happens to five centuries between A.D. 155–600 is never made clear), and the modern period which is subdivided into two main parts, 1492–1885 and 1885–1960. One could just as easily work the first semester up to the "Tentative Partition" which predates 1885 by several decades and which reveals, as Hargreaves and others have shown, that partition of Africa is also rooted in non-European antecedents. Why not include in the first semester "Africa from Earliest Times to 1500"? One could divide the year by "themes" as well, allowing the second semester to start with the slave trade. The possibilities are almost infinite. The assumption about the importance of the colonial period is, at best, ahistorical. Colonial rule was hoisted over social systems and structures cemented by centuries of evolution and —as we are finding out—several centuries outweigh by far the last sixty years. We are perhaps the only country in the world where "recent history" and "current events" are taken away from journalists and given the aura of academic discipline. It is not too late to place African history on somewhat firmer ground by viewing the colonial "period" merely as a terminal part of a much longer process. The periods of African history, one suspects, add up to nothing more than an open question.

University of Wisconsin RAYMOND K. KENT

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Mr. Kent misses the point. My aims were less grandiose than he supposes, and I am surprised that he could read such dogmatic inflexibility into the sentences of my article.

No one would deny the importance of North Africa, Madagascar, or South Africa as areas of study. But, to restate its original premise, my article concerned itself with the construction of a general course suitable for undergraduate and beginning graduate students, not with a final over-all answer to the needs of prospective historians of Africa. I think that one must also consider the questions of what or how much subject matter is covered in each term in a similar light. Personally, I now find that 1804 is about the most suitable cutoff date between two semesters.

Every scholar having some acquaintance with the history of Africa could add numberless titles to those mentioned in my article. Again, in each case, the sole criterion was suitability for teaching purposes; other historians of Africa would no doubt have expressed preferences differing in detail from my own suggestions. I do not think that it would profit us, or the *American Historical Review,* publicly to quibble over the merits or demerits of particular books for which Mr. Kent makes specific claims. (The article in question, incidentally, was originally written during the late summer and early autumn of 1962.) Mr. Kent will find, moreover, that many of the books that he cites, and many others not mentioned by him will—as I indicated on page 48 of my article—be included in the bibliography of my forthcoming "A History of Tropical Africa in Modern Times."

It is not really for me to reply to Mr. Kent's many innuendos. Unhappily, however, Mr. Kent bases his criticism on an inaccurate appraisal of the contents of my article. For example, he writes that I am "not immune from including books where they clearly do not belong." He further accuses me of presenting a "*collage* from undigested bibliographies." As evidence for his dramatic accusations, Mr. Kent reports that I place two items in the prehistory rubric although neither really, he writes, refers to prehistory. The case, however, is less open and shut than Mr. Kent makes it out to be. He neglects to indicate that both books were in fact originally introduced by the sentence: "As a prologue, it is useful to acquaint students with the continent's prehistory and its geographical, social, and cultural setting" (p. 48). I then listed a number of books covering these various subjects and, after mentioning the two books in particular question, added that *Cultures and Societies of Africa,* edited by Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg (New York, 1960), contained "a well-chosen collection of social and cultural readings." My comments on *Continuity and Change in African Cultures,* edited by William Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (Chicago, 1959), were similar.

Mr. Kent has, however, provided me with the opportunity to make a correction to my article. I no longer believe that the term "medieval" (p. 49) is applicable to the study or writing of African history. For the moment, let me simply say that by using the term, I think that we have unwittingly and unfortunately ascribed to African much that is familiar and understood only in terms of European history. An argument on this subject will appear elsewhere.

Harvard University Robert I. Rotberg

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Keith Eubank's review of my book, *Dreyfus, Diplomatists and the Dual Alliance: Gabriel Hanotaux at the Quai d'Orsay, 1894–1898* (*AHR,* LXIX [Oct.

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1963], 211), illustrates two difficulties of the thumbnail critique. First, he says there was nothing "startling" in my monograph, which could be construed to mean there was nothing new—quite a different thing. In fact, there is much new material, including documentary sources never before quoted, let alone translated. I think he might have pointed out that I was the first scholar other than Pierre Renouvin to have access to all French diplomatic files for the period 1894–1898.

Secondly, how would he have me "prove" my conclusion that Hanotaux was the Third Republic's "ablest" Foreign Minister? Joseph Barthélemy ranked him with Delcassé and Briand; William Langer has described him as more significant than Delcassé. As far as I know neither one proved it. I agree that any historian who attempts a comparative study of French Foreign Ministers, ranking them as Commager does US Presidents, must expect trouble. Thus, in suggesting that Hanotaux was the ablest of some thirty-odd Ministers I thought I had avoided "greatest" and was therefore on safe ground. Granted he was not the only outstanding French diplomatist. The Cambons were in many ways more adroit than he, but they remained ambassadors. On closer examination I think Professor Eubank might concede that Hanotaux's long and useful diplomatic career and his undisputed artistry as a negotiator make him the most skillful cabinet rank official in this period of French history.

Pennsylvania Military College THOMAS M. IIAMS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Nothing will be gained by writing a second review of Professor Thomas M. Iiams' book, *Dreyfus, Diplomatists and the Dual Alliance: Gabriel Hanotaux at the Quai d'Orsay, 1894–1898*. I can only recommend that the readers of the *AHR* read his book and judge for themselves.

North Texas State University KEITH EUBANK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is ironical that Mr. Carl Bode, in his review of my *The American Image of the Old World* (*AHR*, LXIX [Jan. 1964], 469), should begin with a slurring reference to historians who "turn a mottled red" whenever Freud, Jung, or Adler are mentioned. Some of my best friends are psychiatrists, who incidentally have reservations about Freud, little sympathy for Adler, and none at all for Jung. My book was elsewhere criticized by a historian for putting so much emphasis on ambivalence in the American attitude toward Europe. I am sure that Mr. Bode will recognize ambivalence as a psychological concept, though he fails to appreciate its use in my book. Nor is it clear to me why my story should be judged not a new one merely because "standard" figures like Franklin and Jefferson appear in it. I should think the point would be the way in which they appear and what is said about them.

I am in favor of any considered and relevant alliance with the social sciences, but it is not clear to me just how "the social psychology of Adler and the views on the collective unconscious of Jung" could have been used more profitably on my theme than the sociologists and political pollsters whose work I cited in my footnotes. I turned to them precisely because the quantitative problem of what "most Americans" thought bothered me as it does Mr. Bode. Before the advent of the social sciences I relied, as historians must, on voting statistics, newspapers,

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or popular writers and "representative men." What else can the conscientious historian do for premodern periods?

Nothing is easier or less profitable than glib psychologizing about images. If my method, therefore, instead of being "extraordinary," looks very much like "documentary history," then the resemblance is quite intentional, and I plead guilty with a good conscience.

California Institute of Technology CUSHING STROUT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I suggest that anyone who is interested should take another look at my review.

University of Maryland CARL BODE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May I thank through the "Communications" of the *Review* the officers and members of the Council of the American Historical Association, 1953–1963, for the lovely silver bowl presented to me at the meeting in Philadelphia, December 29. It will be filled and flowing for historians who come this way.

Macalester College BOYD C. SHAFER

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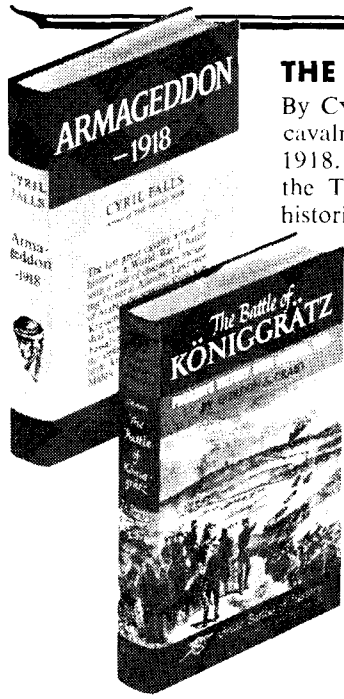
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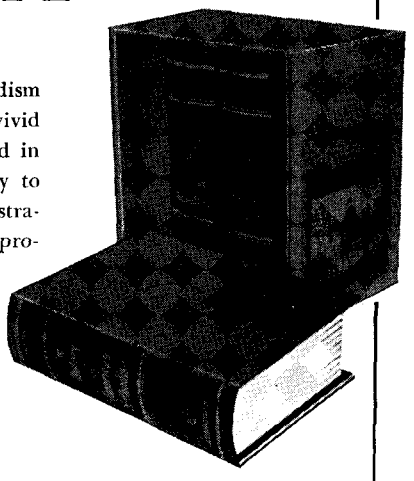
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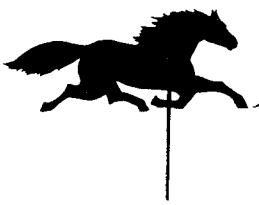
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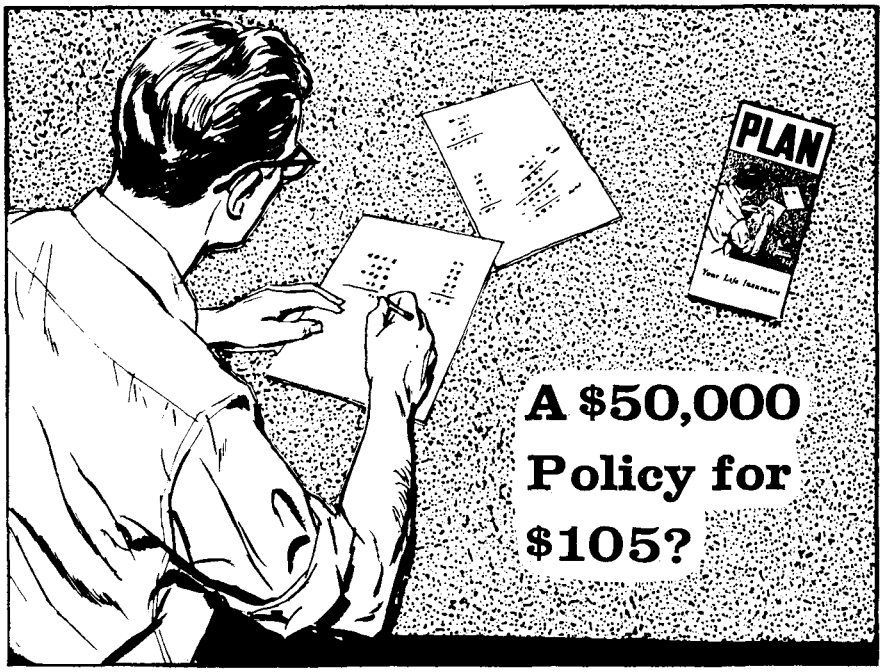
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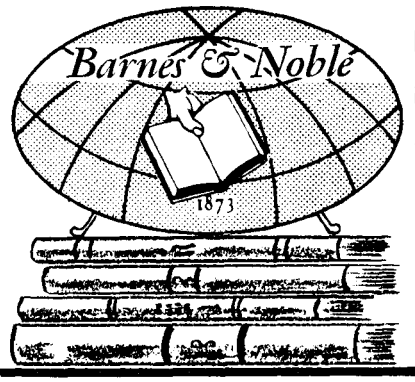
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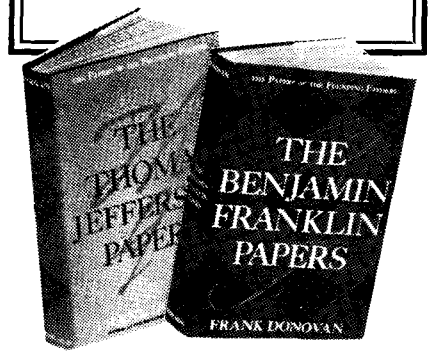
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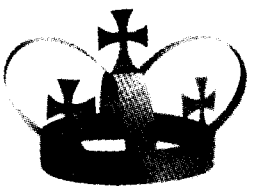
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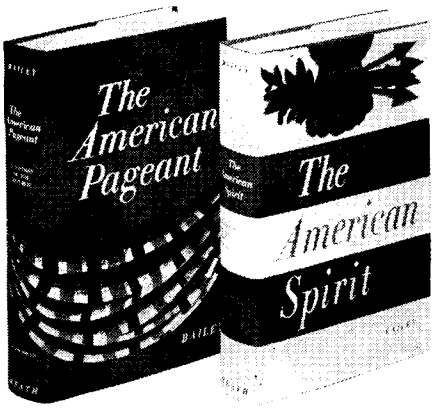
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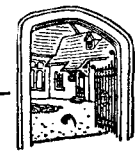
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